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INDIANA  
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VOLUME 8



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INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

VOL. 8

NO. 1

# JUDGE JAMES LOCKHART

BY

GEORGE R. WILSON

INDIANAPOLIS:

WM. B. BURFORD, CONTRACTOR FOR STATE PRINTING AND BINDING

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# JUDGE JAMES LOCKHART<sup>1</sup>

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## PART I

JUDGE JAMES LOCKHART, of the "Pocket of Indiana," was born at Auburn, New York, February 13, 1806, and died at Evansville, Indiana, September 7, 1857, past fifty-one years of age. His remains are at rest in Oak Hill Cemetery, at Evansville. It was thought his death was due to consumption. He is most prominently known in local history as an attorney, jurist and congressman. In 1833, Judge Lockhart was admitted to the bar in Vanderburgh county. He was commissioned a notary, April 17, 1834. Among the smaller political positions filled by Judge Lockhart, it is recalled that from May 23, 1835, to June 10, 1836, he was surveyor at Evansville; he then became city clerk and served until June 7, 1837, at which time he became trustee of the second ward. He was county agent of Vanderburgh county. This was an office created in March, 1818, and abolished in 1852. The work of the county agent, under the first constitution, was merged into the duties of the county auditor, by the present constitution. In 1837, Judge Lockhart was an attorney at law, in Evansville; he became prosecuting attorney in his judicial district, in 1842.

Judge Lockhart's signature as it appears upon the state constitution of 1851, and many other legal documents in the "Pocket of Indiana," very much resembles

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1. This biographical sketch was prepared for the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, and presented at its annual meeting held at Evansville, Indiana, February 28, 1923.

the handwriting of James Madison, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, and men of their day and generation. The present state constitution is engrossed on sheep skin, in book form, and is preserved, in a glass case in the office of the secretary of state, at Indianapolis. From that document the fac-simile of his signature below his picture was traced.



*James Lockhart*

Judge James Lockhart was a great favorite in Dubois county, and he had much to do in establishing that county's political history and bearing. At Jasper, in 1839, Judge Lockhart was nominated for congress, in the old log courthouse. In those days, one county could nominate a man, that is, name him, as its choice. The

term has changed its meaning. In those pioneer days "to nominate" meant "to name," as the choice of any one particular assembly of men. The word "instruct" is now used in the sense, "nominate" was formerly used. In 1841, at Boonville, Judge Lockhart was nominated for congress, on the Van Buren ticket. In the same year he received, in Dubois county, 202 votes, against 190 votes for Proffit. Proffit was also much thought of in Dubois county.

In Elliott's *History of Evansville and Vanderburgh County*, among other things, we read as follows:

"In 1846, James Lockhart was commissioned to succeed Judge Embree as judge of the fourth judicial circuit, by Governor James Whitcomb. \* \* \* Judge Lockhart had become one of the leading lawyers of the state, and it may be said that his appointment was the beginning of a new era in the history of the judiciary of Indiana, that henceforth it required some legal ability and knowledge of law to become a judge of the fourth judicial circuit. Judge Lockhart was slow in decision but was almost invariably right in his conclusions. He was an untiring worker, and a close student, consequently a careful judge. He was a splendid office lawyer and a regular 'book worm'. He afterwards figured to a great extent in politics, and was a member of the twenty-third congress of the United States. Alvin P. Hovey succeeded Judge Lockhart in 1851."<sup>2</sup>

In the *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, we read:

"James Lockhart received the judicial ermine from the shoulders of Judge Embree as is shown by the commission from Governor Whitcomb, February —, 1846.

"James Lockhart was admitted to the bar in 1832, and was prosecutor for seven years. He is described as being a 'leading lawyer of strong and determined mind' and in spite of every obstacle attained a commanding position in his profession. He was

2. pp. 137-138.

tall in person, of remarkable voice, was a keen and logical debater and an impartial and popular magistrate. He was the first to formulate a code of rules to govern his court. There were thirty-nine in all under the heads, motions, pleadings and papers, docket, trial, sheriff, chancery and miscellaneous. 'Under trial' is this rule; 'one lawyer only on each side can question a witness'."

From a book called *Evansville and Its Men of Mark*, the following notice is taken of Judge Lockhart:

"Around the name of James Lockhart cluster the recollections of a brave and gallant spirit; a refined and cultivated man; an erudite jurist; and a politician who understood so well the wants and necessities of Indiana. He was born in Auburn, N. Y., on the thirteenth of February, 1806. The eldest of ten children, he was forced to assist his father, Ephraim L. Lockhart, in the carding and fulling-mill business, and served a full apprenticeship in the same. During his leisure time, he devoted himself to studying the preparatory books for college, and enjoyed the privilege of a partial course. Owing to his lack of means, he was forced to relinquish his hope of being a graduate. He also studied law; but was not admitted to practice till after his arrival at Evansville, in 1832. His name was familiar to the people as a leading lawyer for many years. His strong will and determined mind caused him to study carefully the cases presented to his charge; and he, in spite of every obstacle, took a commanding position in the profession. For several years he acted as prosecuting attorney; and for over seven years he served as Circuit Judge. Many are the pleasing memories of Judge Lockhart; and he must have been an impartial and popular magistrate.

"In 1851, he was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and in that body exerted an influence second to none in the state (1852). He was elected by the Democrats as a member of the thirty-second congress and was a member elect of that body at the time of his death, in September, 1857. His health barely survived the first (1856) campaign; and we have no doubt that his extreme labors as a public speaker were the cause of his untimely death. Tall in person; weight over two hundred pounds when

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3. pp. 309, 310, 311.



in health; and possessing a remarkable voice for public speaking, his presence on the stump was the signal for a great rally of his political friends, and even opponents. A keen and logical debater, his arguments were presented in a style peculiar to himself; and he won a distinction for political debates which has secured for him a lasting reputation. His career in congress was such as to add to his fame; and in Washington, as well as in Indiana, Judge Lockhart was regarded as one of the 'men of the times'."

He was married in 1835, to Miss Sarah G. Negley, daughter of David Negley, an old resident of Pigeon Creek settlement.<sup>4</sup>

In a *History of Vanderburgh County* the following notice is made of Judge Lockhart:

"The last mentioned of the president judges was Hon. Elisha Embree. His successor, Judge James Lockhart, commissioned in March, 1846, by Governor James Whitcomb, was a resident of Evansville, and before ascending to the bench had become one of the foremost lawyers in this part of the state. His selection to the important office was a just tribute to his abilities and worth. A native of New York, he was born in 1806 and died in this city in 1857. Admitted to the Evansville bar, in 1832, he soon gained recognition as an able and erudite lawyer. He was not a man of quick perception and ready speech, but studious and painstaking. When addressing court or jury he was slow, deliberate and earnest. His intense interest in any case which he undertook, and his deep, enthusiastic earnestness carried conviction. He was known as a book lawyer, plodding patiently through authorities and working his cases thoroughly. He was much like Judge Iglehart, well known to later practitioners, except that he lacked some of the smoothness of the latter and was not as clear a writer. Throughout his career as a practitioner he held a commanding position. On the bench he was impartial, just and thoroughly capable. For several years he was prosecuting attorney for the district, was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1851, and was elected to a seat in the thirty-second congress, but died before taking the office. He was well known as a politician throughout the district, and was a recognized leader of the democracy. Socially he en-

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4. p. 83.

joyed a very high standing, being refined and cultivated and having a most excellent wife, daughter of David Negley, of Center Township. The fact is worthy of mention that the only dinner ever given to the Evansville bar was at the hospitable home of Judge Lockhart shortly before his election to congress. There were then about sixteen lawyers in the city, and all were present on the occasion. It need hardly be said that a most delightful afternoon was enjoyed. His attainments and character gave Judge Lockhart a lasting hold upon the esteem of his contemporaries in social and professional circles.

"The next to preside in the circuit court of Vanderburgh County was Alvin P. Hovey, who was commissioned in September, 1851, by Governor Joseph A. Wright."<sup>5</sup>

Judge Lockhart was commissioned December 13, 1845, as president judge of the fourth judicial circuit for the term of seven years from January 21, 1846. He resigned in 1851, and General Alvin P. Hovey, was commissioned on May 31, 1851, to fill the vacancy. Judge Lockhart served in congress in 1851-1853. He was elected over the Whig candidate, Judge L. Q. DeBruler.

In the early days law libraries were not very extensive; but what few books were on hand were extensively read, thoroughly studied, and well understood. From what can be learned of Judge Lockhart at this late day, he appears to have been a strong advocate before a judge or jury for he argued from the bedrock of principles. He was trained to it, and in this was his power. His reasoning was sound, along the line that is expressed by the words "common law is common sense." He always attempted to brush away the little things in a case and get at the real facts in the case itself.

Judge Lockhart had a high respect for the law and the dignity of the members of the bar. The old county

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5. p. 341.

clerks, as standing in a close relation to the bar, were his friends. He stood high in their regard, and they were admitted to a share of his intimacy. In Dubois county a few of the older citizens named their sons "Lockhart." To Judge Lockhart the profession of the law was the highest of all professions, because it appeared as a brotherhood, was sacred as between lawyer and client, and maintained the rights of men. It also preserved the government, and controlled the administration of the law.

Judge Lockhart was a close student of the law and realized in it the profession which created the liberties of man, and preserved them. It was the profession of Blackstone, Bacon, Coke, Clarendon, Lord Hardwick, Lord Mansfield, Pratt, Eldon, Erskine, Pendleton, Henry, Wythe, Jefferson, Webster, Marshall, Bracton, etc. Judge Lockhart always spoke of law with affection, reverence, and enthusiasm. He was a strong advocate of many of the older laws and practices before the last constitutional convention.

Judge Lockhart gave the law such intense study that he was able to analyze the most intricate problems in it and present them in plain, simple language. He could make many eccentric phrases melt into reasonable expressions, into common law and common sense. His law language became a vehicle of thought and, in this way, his mind and the minds of the jurors could meet upon a common understanding.

Perhaps Judge Lockhart's greatest work was done while he was a member of the last constitutional convention. The work he did there left its imprint upon the laws of Indiana and its blessings upon the future citizens

of the state. In that convention Judge Lockhart represented a district composed of the counties of Posey and Vanderburgh. This convention itself was productive of more good results than is usually recalled.

The words "Evansville" and "Vanderburgh" have enough German sound in their makeup to have attracted the attention of the people of that nation. Did they do so? Judge Lockhart was very solicitous of German interests in the making of the constitution and in its publication and in the publication of the revised statutes made thereunder. This congressional district had many German voters and in his race for congress he received their well-earned support. The days of know-nothingism were not far in the future.

The *Book of Debates* of the Indiana Constitutional Convention is well worth the careful perusal of anyone interested in our present constitution. All of us should be. In the main, those two volumes are the authority for much that is related herein of that constitution, and the part Judge Lockhart played in its making. At the time of the convention Judge Lockhart was closing a successful term of seven years on the bench, and he possessed a vision and a view of law and constitutions not in the possession of many delegates to the convention. He was easily one of its most brilliant and valued delegates. It is quite evident that the Hon. Benjamin Rose Edmonston, of Dubois county, and many other delegates, all prominent in the convention, relied upon Judge Lockhart for much of the technical information.

Judge Lockhart's experience on the bench had taught him that it was almost a crime to send a first offender to the Jeffersonville prison, at that time one of the worst



in the world, there to associate with unredeemable criminals, to absorb their hatred of law and order, etc., so on Monday, October 28, 1850, which was early in the convention, Judge Lockhart offered a resolution to obtain from the warden of the state prison, at Jeffersonville, certain information as to the age, sex, and other statistics of criminals, in order that the convention might judge of the necessity for another kind of prison, an institution intermediate between the county jail and the state prison—something similar to a house of correction or a “house of refuge”; later in years, really represented by what is now known as the Boys’ School at Plainfield, near Indianapolis. This was a generation before the state reformatory existed, and about sixty years before there was a penal farm in Indiana. The resolution carried, but the “house of refuge” was not then created.<sup>6</sup>

In a broader sense he had the idea or the theory now advanced, in a large measure, by the state board of charities, or the state board of pardons. In that sense he was a generation in advance of his state. While acting in a judicial capacity Judge Lockhart dreaded very much to send a youth to the state’s prison. In speaking upon this subject before the state constitutional convention, among other things, Judge Lockhart said:

“It seems to me that there is no question that can be presented for the consideration of this convention, that is of more importance than this. The correction and reformation of juvenile offenders is a subject upon which I have thought and reflected much. Having occupied, for several years past, a high judicial position, I have often been pained to see the youth, the mere boy,

6. *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 254, 493. Vol. II, p. 1036. Joshua XXI, verses 13, 21, 27, 32, 38, Numbers 35-6. Holloway’s *Indianapolis*, 1870, pp. 191, 192.

branded as a felon, under our laws, and sent for a series of years to that worst of all prisons in the United States—the Jeffersonville state prison.”

He championed a “house of refuge,” etc., for young offenders.<sup>7</sup>

The legislature of Indiana, by an act approved March 8, 1867, authorized an institution to be known as “A HOUSE OF REFUGE FOR THE CORRECTION AND REFORMATION OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS.”

To carry out the provisions of this act the sum of fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000.00) was appropriated. The general supervision and government of the institution was vested in a board of control. It consisted of three commissioners, appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. Charles F. Coffin of Wayne county, A. C. Downey of Ohio county, and General Joseph Orr of Laporte county were the first members of the board. Charles F. Coffin was the first president. The institution at Plainfield, in Hendricks county, thus had its origin, and Judge Lockhart’s vision of sixteen years before came true.

In the convention the position of auditor of state was created and Judge Lockhart was the author of the title “Auditor of State,” the legal name for the official commonly known as state auditor.<sup>8</sup>

Upon the question of taking private property for public use, and providing for the pay of the same, Judge Lockhart presented valuable argument before the convention, covering what could happen in the case of non-residents, feme covert, infant, idiot, lunatic, etc. He

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7. *Proceedings of Constitutional Convention*, Vol. II, p. 1903.

8. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 336.

declared, "No man's particular services shall be demanded without just compensation. No man's property shall be taken without compensation; nor, except in case of the state, without such compensation first assessed and tendered to the owner," etc.<sup>9</sup> His talk continued and covered cases wherein the owner was physically unable to reach or receive compensation, etc. Judge Lockhart usually received close attention and marked respect.

Upon the question of negro immigration and rights Judge Lockhart took an active part in the convention. He was in favor of the legislature passing laws, with as little delay as possible, prohibiting negroes or mulattoes from coming into or settling in this state, and prohibiting all negroes and mulattoes who have come into this state since the 10th day of February, 1831, and who have not complied with the provisions of the general assembly of this state entitled "An act concerning free negroes and mulattoes, servants and slaves," approved February 10, 1831, "from purchasing real estate, or any interest therein, hereafter."<sup>10</sup> The act of 1831 was styled the "black law" by many pioneers.<sup>11</sup>

Upon this point Judge Lockhart made a very interesting and learned address.<sup>12</sup>

A portion of the old law read as follows:

"From and after the first day of September next (1831), no black or mulatto person coming or brought into this state, shall be permitted to reside therein unless bond with good and sufficient security be given on behalf of such person of color—in the penal sum of five hundred dollars, conditioned that such person shall not at any time become a charge to said county."

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9. *Ibid.* Vol I, pp. 437, 560.

10. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 572.

11. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 622.

12. *Ibid.*

While debating this question, among other things, Judge Lockhart said:

"That section virtually provides that they might come into the state, and if they did, that they should comply with its provisions. For a time it was supposed that this law was unconstitutional. The supreme court, however, has decided otherwise and that the act is constitutional. The amendment I have offered is substantially this:

"That all negroes who have been born in this state or those who came into the state prior to the act of tenth February, 1831, just recited, and all who have come into the state since that period and have complied with the provisions of the law shall be permitted to hold real estate hereafter, as they have heretofore. It seems to me that if these instructions be adopted, the friends of the most stringent law on that subject would be satisfied. It would be leaving the negro exempted in the amendment, free to acquire and hold property. The ground which I have taken, I think, would be neutral and common ground on which we all would meet, that it would be a position which we could all maintain and which would be maintained by the people of the state. It cannot be urged with propriety, that those who have come into the state since the passage of the act of 1831, and have not complied with its provisions, can have any claim to the protection which the law otherwise would have afforded them, or any other of the laws of the state. They reside here in fraud of the law and have no right to claim its protection.' \* \* \*

"It has been said during the discussion of this question, that there is a pro-slavery party in this convention; that there are men on this floor who are pandering to the Southern slave-holders—men who are not willing to maintain the principles declared to be the rights of citizens of this state, guaranteed by the present constitution. I, for one, Sir, am not prepared to say that when I take the position which I do, that I am pandering to the prejudices of the Southern slave-holder. I maintain that Indiana ought to be, and should forever remain, free soil. I go in, however, for maintaining the integrity of the laws and of the constitution of the United States. I go in for the enforcement of the bill which has been denounced from one end of the Union to the other—I



mean the fugitive slave law. I believe that it is a duty which we owe to the sister states, a duty which we owe to ourselves, a duty which we owe to the integrity of the Union, to see that the laws are faithfully, honestly and impartially administered. That was one of the principles on which the federal constitution was framed; and it is unquestionably our duty to preserve it inviolate. Sir, I see very little moral honesty in declaring upon this floor, that we are in favor of maintaining the supremacy of the law, while at the same time we stigmatize each other as being panderers to the interests of Southern slave-holders, or Northern fanatics. If to maintain the supremacy of the law be to pander, then I am willing to be branded as a panderer." \* \* \*<sup>13</sup>

The speech was of considerable length and one may easily see as he reads it that Judge Lockhart looked, as did Daniel Webster, upon constitutions and laws as contracts not to be broken. So long as slavery was a constitutional right the slave-holder had rights other men must observe, etc. All sections of the new constitution that touched upon slavery brought forth unusual decisions. True, at that time, there was no slavery in Indiana, but its blight, or evil influences, reached over into Indiana, and the slave question was becoming serious.

When the question of providing for a new county to be constructed from portions of Perry and Spencer was before the last state constitutional convention (which is fully reported in Volume I, between pages 931 and 941, of the convention proceedings), Judge Lockhart's sympathies were with Mr. Huff, the delegate from Spencer. Judge Lockhart said:

"My feelings are all with the mover of the reference. The division of counties, it is true, ought not to be encouraged, nor ought we unnecessarily to prevent it where a clear majority of the people are in its favor. I regard this, Sir, as a question over which

13. *Ibid.* pp. 622, 627.

the people themselves in the local jurisdictions ought to have control. I therefore trust that the proposition will receive the favorable action of this convention, and that the section will be amended as proposed."

Today, the final analysis, or answer, is to be found in the following provision of the present constitution; Schedule, Article XV, near the end of the state constitution:

"Whenever a portion of the citizens of the counties of Perry and Spencer shall deem it expedient to form, of the contiguous territory of said counties, a new county, it shall be the duty of those interested in the organization of such new county, to lay off the same, by proper metes and bounds, of equal portions as nearly as practicable, not to exceed one-third of the territory of each of said counties. The proposal to create such new county shall be submitted to the voters of said counties, at a general election, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law. And if a majority of all the votes given at said election shall be in favor of the organization of said new county, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to organize the same out of the territory thus designated."<sup>14</sup>

The size of the General Assembly of Indiana brought forth a general discussion such as we hear now-a-days in congress. A full representation was desired. At the time of this convention (1851) Indiana had only ninety counties.

When the question was before the state constitutional convention, quite a discussion arose as to the number of state senators and state representatives that should be required to constitute the "General Assembly of the State of Indiana." Edmonston, of Haysville, and Judge Lockhart took prominent parts in this discussion, and their wishes prevailed.<sup>15</sup>

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14. *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 2077.

15. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 981, 985.

When the constitutional convention of 1851 was closing up its work, Mr. Bright, of Jefferson county,

"offered a resolution to the effect that the secretary be authorized to have five thousand copies of the constitution and address published in the German language, etc."

the resolution was adopted.<sup>16</sup>

About the time this state constitution was being written (1850-1851) states north of us were passing laws very inviting to the Germans then preparing to leave Europe for the freedom of America. It caused this state constitutional convention to be exceedingly liberal in its constitutional provisions regarding aliens' rights, votes, etc., so liberal, in fact, as to make Indiana a favorite of the German emigrant. The constitution itself and the statutes were printed in German, laws were passed favoring the German language in public schools, and the proceedings of some town councils, etc., were kept in German. No wonder the jolt in the World War was a severe one, for many Germans never realized until then that they were in America and actually American citizens, subject to American laws and customs after all. The Democrats were the majority party in the state constitutional convention. Judge Lockhart requested that fifteen thousand copies of the new constitution be printed in German.<sup>17</sup>

Benjamin R. Edmonston, of Haysville, offered a section to the constitution to the effect that in each school district the qualified electors thereof may decide, by vote, whether they will have any other than the English language taught in the district, but it was voted down.<sup>18</sup>

16. *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 2066.

17. *Ibid.* p. 2030.

18. *Ibid.* p. 1861.

On Thursday, October 24, 1850, Judge Lockhart took a decided stand against local or free banks. He offered the following resolution, which was ordered printed:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this convention, the interests of the people and the honor of the state demand that a provision be inserted in the constitution prohibiting the legislature from incorporating any bank or banking institution in this state."

When the question of abolishing the grand jury system was before the state constitutional convention, in 1850, Judge Lockhart delivered an address in favor of the grand jury, in which he displayed a familiarity with English history not often seen, even at this time. His address was in the language of his day, with a full supply of "Sirs," and other courtesies not now in use. It had many rounded periods which reminds one of the orations of George H. Proffit, but it was more specific and legal in its terms and premises. Since this particular address may give us a character picture of Judge Lockhart, in middle life, and is a fair example of the orations of that famous convention, perhaps the greatest ever held in Indiana, the address, practically complete, is given and marked "Exhibit A," at the close of this sketch.

Judge Lockhart was a strong advocate of the state banking system. On January 7, 1851, when the banking question was before the state constitutional convention, Judge Lockhart delivered a set speech well worth reading. It is to be found marked "Exhibit B," near the close of this biographical sketch.

It is to be remembered that Judge Lockhart had a profound respect for things old, and established, and fought many proposed and radical changes upon the floor of the convention. He had a high regard for law and order

and implicit faith in the final judgment of the common people. He realized that, in the final analysis, the people's approval was required to make a new state constitution—the convention was drafting the text, but the people were required to give it force and effect.

In this state constitutional convention Judge Lockhart was appointed on Monday, October 14, 1850, to serve on the following committees: To represent the fourth judicial circuit "On the organization of the courts of justice" and "On salaries, compensation, and term of office."<sup>19</sup> In the decade of the forties the fourth judicial circuit was composed of the counties of Posey, Gibson, Vanderburgh, Pike, Dubois, Spencer, Perry, Crawford, and Warrick, but the changes were frequent.

The General Assembly of Indiana was in session during the part of the time the state constitutional convention was in session, and some delegates to the constitutional convention were at the same period members of the General Assembly, then serving under Indiana's first constitution. When the General Assembly convened it was necessary for the convention to move from the State House to the Masonic Hall. Madison invited the convention to convene in that city and complete its work, but the invitation was not accepted.

When the constitutional provision regarding the site of the battle of Tippecanoe was before the constitutional convention, Judge Lockhart raised the question of the expediency of erecting a monument at the capital of the state, to the memory of the gallant volunteers who fell in Mexico.<sup>20</sup> The Whigs claimed the honors for Tippecanoe but blamed the Democrats for the Mexican war.

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19. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 57, 58.

20. *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 1342.



The state constitutional convention was in session from Monday, October 7, 1850, to Monday, February 10, 1851. The latest constitutions of other states were freely consulted and the suitable parts were adopted or adapted to Indiana's needs. On the last day of this convention it convened at six o'clock in the morning. The committee on revision then made its final report. Modern statesmen would hardly convene at six o'clock on a Monday morning to revise anything.

When the questions of permitting aliens to hold property in Indiana was before the state constitutional convention, among other things, Judge Lockhart said:

"In that portion of the state in which he resided, there was a large foreign population, many of whom had experienced great inconveniences in the settlement of the estates of deceased aliens. It was true for four or five years past we have had a statute which measurably removed the evil, yet he thought that it ought to form a section in the constitution. It may not be amiss to state that in some of the continental states of Europe, the laws of descent and distribution are made to depend upon the law of the country where the heir or distributee resides, so that if by the law of the country where the heir lived and owed allegiance, foreigners were allowed to inherit, the rule would be reciprocal hence the great importance of inserting the provisions of this section in the constitution. He had known a German who resided in this state, prior to the passage of the statute to which he had referred, who fell heir to property in one of the German states, who was compelled to change his residence from Indiana to Pennsylvania, or Maryland, before he was entitled to enjoy the inheritance. \* \* \* Let us then secure to them and their friends in the country from whence they came, their just right to inherit."<sup>21</sup>

Judge Lockhart endeavored throughout the state constitutional convention, as at all other times, to be cour-

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21. *Ibid.* p. 1404.

teous and respectful; he never upon any occasion during the convention united with those who felt disposed to make noise and confusion in the hall. He did not occupy much of the time of the convention; he knew what to say, how to say it, and how to quit when he had said it. He was absent only a few hours during the entire session.<sup>22</sup> He was a close student, keen observer, and faithful delegate; conscientious, untiring, and honest in his beliefs.

The words "Gentlemen" and "Sir" appear so often in the debates of the state constitutional convention, of 1850, that one is reminded of the dignity of English debates, or the courtesies and honor of southern people. The harsh, cold, and indifferent language of debates of today are not to be found, but the early language was, nevertheless, very cutting. It was simply delivered with more polish, eloquence and refinement.

In the state constitutional convention, of 1850, Judge Lockhart was generally referred to as the "Gentleman from Vanderburgh," but he represented the district composed of Vanderburgh and Posey counties.

In one of his speeches before the state constitutional convention, Judge Lockhart said:

"I desire to say that I will go as far as he who will go the farthest. I am for breaking down all distinctions between the several forms of actions, and for having the law administered in an uniform mode, without reference to the distinctions between law and equity. It is high time, Sir, that the artificial distinctions which have so long clogged the wheels of justice should be dispensed with. We have already passed a section which provides 'that all courts shall be open, and every person, for injury done to him, in his person, property or reputation, shall have remedy by due course of law', and in the beautiful language of Lord Coke, that section declares that 'justice shall be administered freely,

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22. *Ibid.* p. 1532.

and without purchase, completely and without denial, speedily and without delay', etc."<sup>23</sup>

In many of Judge Lockhart's speeches one may see references, not only to the common law of England, but to the history of that common law. They show a general knowledge of the history of England and of continental Europe, as they pertain to law and equity. Apparently, public men of 1850 knew more of English and European history than do public men of today. They were really closer to the influence of England than we are. Many were only one or two generations removed from English forefathers.

As a reader studies the printed speech delivered at the state constitutional convention the conclusion draws upon him that the men who framed the present state constitution were probably the most resourceful men ever assembled in Indiana. They were learned in the law, history, achievements, ambitions, aims, hopes, and aspirations of genuine Hoosiers. They had been students and readers of the great men of the past, of the conventions and constitutions of other states and countries, and the history and progress made thereunder. The feudal system, the grand jury system, the right of eminent domain, imprisonment for debt, and many other things were discussed with a broad knowledge obtained from their earliest history. The grand jury system called for prolonged and serious discussions, and it was finally retained, as the best of various methods suggested for public protection.

Judge Lockhart closed his duties as a delegate to the state constitutional convention on Monday, February 10, 1851, and in a few days was on his way to Washington

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23. *Ibid.* p. 1840.

to become a member of congress, where he represented the first Indiana district in congress beginning Wednesday, December 3, 1851. At that time, Thomas A. Hendricks, afterwards vice-president, was a member from the fifth Indiana district. Messrs. Bright and Whitcomb were in the senate. One of Judge Lockhart's first acts was to introduce a bill to

"grant the right of way and make a donation of land to the states of Indiana and Illinois, in aid of the construction of a railroad from New Albany, in the State of Indiana, via Mount Carmel, on the Wabash River, to Alton, in the State of Illinois."

which was read the first and second time by its title, and referred to the committee on public lands.<sup>24</sup>

In March, 1852, Judge Lockhart presented a petition of "Samuel Hall, president of the Evansville and Illinois Railroad, asking for a grant of land to aid in the construction of said road from Evansville, on the Ohio river, to Indianapolis, Indiana." At the same time he filed a petition in favor of the assistant United States marshals who took the seventh census in the counties of the "Pocket," which petition asked for additional compensation for their services.<sup>25</sup>

On Friday, March 26, 1852, Judge Lockhart presented a petition for J. C. Graham, of Pike county, asking for additional compensation for services rendered as assistant marshal in taking the seventh census of the United States.<sup>26</sup>

On April 7, 1852, he filed a similar petition for B. B. Piper, census taken for Posey county.<sup>27</sup>

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24. *Cong. Globe*, January 7, 1852, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 224.

25. *Ibid.* March 19, 1852, p. 800.

26. *Ibid.* Part II. March 26, 1852. p. 898.

27. *Ibid.* April 7, 1852. p. 1004.

On April 22, 1852, he again appeared before congress in the interest of the Evansville and Illinois Railroad and land grants.<sup>28</sup>

Judge Lockhart was a member of the committee on territories and was interested in providing for the selection of places for the location and erection of public buildings for the territories of Oregon and Minnesota.<sup>29</sup> He was also an active member in behalf of New Mexico, and in behalf of the people of Oregon who defended themselves against Indian attacks in 1847 and 1848.<sup>30</sup> This is sometimes referred to as the "Cayuse War," in Oregon.

On Saturday, May 29, 1852, the house had before it the disposal of the saline lands in Indiana and there was some discussion. The State of Indiana owned these saline lands at that time, but their sale price had been placed at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre by the government, and the land did not sell, though on the market for nearly a quarter of a century. Eastern congressmen seemingly opposed the reduction of the price per acre. Originally the surveyors reported that these lands might contain salt springs, and therefore valuable, but salt did not develop. The discussion closed when Judge Lockhart said:

"The lands which the provisions of this bill affect are principally, if not all, in the district which I represent. I am, therefore, well acquainted with their situation and can concur fully in the statement made by my colleague, Mr. Dunham. I hope, therefore, that the honorable member from Connecticut (Mr. Cleveland) will withdraw his opposition to the bill and let it pass."

Mr. Cleveland accepted Judge Lockhart's explanation, withdrew his objection and the bill passed. It was of

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28. *Ibid.* April 22, 1852. p. 1171.

29. *Ibid.* pp. 1198, 1232, 1377.

30. *Ibid.* pp. 1377, 1455, 1456.



material assistance to the common schools of Indiana, and the proceeds are now recognized in what is known as the "saline funds" embodied in our tuition funds for the common schools of Indiana.

On June 24, 1852, Judge Lockhart presented resolutions of the legislature of the State of Indiana in relation to declaring the bridge over the Ohio river at Wheeling, (West) Virginia, a post route. This shows how far an interest in a bridge may be felt.

On July 8, 1852, Judge Lockhart addressed the house in behalf of the work of Dr. David Dale Owen, on the geology of Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Among other things Judge Lockhart said:

"As a geologist, Dr. Owen has but few equals, probably no superior in this or any other country. The work, Sir, is one of very great merit. As a literary production it will take a very high rank; as a scientific work it will have no superior in that branch of science. To the artisan and others who may hereafter wish to settle upon the great coal-fields or mineral lands of the Mississippi Valley, this report will be of incalculable value, etc."<sup>31</sup>

Dr. Owen's book is said to be one of the best, neatest and most inexpensive ever produced by congress up to that time. The resolution called for thirty-five hundred copies.

At an evening session of a committee of congress, on Saturday, July 24, 1852, the river and harbor appropriation bill was up for consideration. Judge Lockhart addressed the committee for an hour in favor of the bill. He avowed himself a strict constructionist of the constitution, and said he was prepared to vote for a just system of measures, of a national character, for the improvement of rivers and harbors. In doing so he was not

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31. *Ibid.* pp. 1693, 1694.

departing from the Democratic doctrine, having before him the example of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, and Polk, etc.<sup>32</sup>

On August 4, 1852, Judge Lockhart took an active interest in the reports furnished by the engineer concerning the falls of the Ohio, the maps, and the additional improvements needed. The canal around the falls was a pioneer internal improvement which well deserved his serious consideration.

On August 14 and 16, 1852, the discussion concerning the "Wheeling Bridge" was attracting considerable attention. A bill was before the house declaring the Wheeling bridge a lawful structure and a post route. The decision of Judge Marshall concerning the territory situated, lying, and being to the northwest of the river Ohio, came into the debate. The question of jurisdiction over the Ohio river was a debated question. While the debate was on, Judge Lockhart, among other things, said:

"I wish to state that the case of Handley's Lessee vs. Anthony, to which he refers the question of state bounndary was not discussed. The only question presented to the court for its consideration was whether thirty-six thousand acres of land, situate, lying and being to the northwest of the Ohio, and lying within the county in which I reside, was in Kentucky or Indiana. The lawyers in that case conceded that if the land in controversy was an island, it was in Kentucky, if not an island, it was in Indiana. From this statement it will be seen that what Judge Marshall says in relation to the boundary between the states of Kentucky and Indiana, is not entitled to the consideration of a judicial decision; that it is only the 'obiter dicta' of the judge who delivered the opinion, and is not authority judicially pronounced upon the important question of boundary."<sup>33</sup>

32. *Ibid.* Part III, p. 1889.

33. *Globe*, August 13, 1852, Vol. XXV, p. 1041.

Judge Lockhart was a "Jackson Democrat" and was evidently very proud to be one and to say so. On July 22, 1852, when a river and harbor bill was before the House, Judge Lockhart made one of his principal speeches before the "Committee of the Whole," upon the improvement of the Ohio river. (See "EXHIBIT C.")

In the second session of the thirty-second congress, Judge Lockhart still looked after the interests of the territories, the river and harbor appropriations, and the railroads then proposed in southern Indiana. One of his last acts in this congress was to secure twenty thousand dollars for building the marine hospital at Evansville. This he did February 19, 1853. Judge Lockhart's first congressional term ended with the thirty-second congress. Smith Miller represented the districts in the thirty-third congress which convened in March, 1853. Smith Miller's home was at Patoka, in Gibson county. He was a member of congress from the first Indiana district from March 4, 1853, to March 3, 1857. He served four years between the terms of Judge Lockhart, and thus congress lost the future service of Judge Lockhart, practically entirely. The Congressional Directory thus speaks of Mr. Miller:

"Smith Miller, a representative from Indiana, born in North Carolina May 30, 1804, moved to Patoka, Gibson County, Indiana; received a limited schooling; engaged in farming; member of the state house of representatives; elected as a Democrat to the thirty-third and thirty-fourth congresses (March 4, 1853, to March 3, 1857); died near Patoka, Indiana, March 21, 1872."<sup>34</sup>

Smith Miller of Gibson county was a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1850, and represented a dis-

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34. Cong. Directory—Senate Documents, Vol. LVI, p. 864.

trict composed of Gibson, Pike, and Dubois counties. He served as a state representative from Gibson from 1835 to 1839, again in 1846. He also served as state senator from Gibson county in 1841-44 and in 1847-50. He served in the thirty-third and thirty-fourth sessions of the American congress and was succeeded by the Hon. James Lockhart, March 3, 1857, in the thirty-fifth congress. In 1856, Judge Lockhart was elected the successor to Smith Miller, in the thirty-fifth congress, but Judge Lockhart died September 7, 1857, before he took a very active part as a member of the thirty-fifth congress, and while a candidate for election for the thirty-sixth session. It seems there were two elections before active work under the first election had begun. Lockhart, the congressman-elect, was a candidate for re-election with an undoubted chance for success, when he died, about a month before the election. Judge Niblack who was nominated to fill his place on the ticket was elected and entered upon his duties December 7, 1857. Judge Niblack was re-elected.

Judge Lockhart had returned to political power in 1856, but illness soon called him to a world beyond. In 1856, he was re-nominated to congress, and in 1857, re-nominated again. He was elected in 1856, but passed away before election day in 1857. Judge Lockhart was known as a man ready to march to the defense of the Democratic principles, whether as a leader or as a private in the ranks. Though defeated in the convention, in 1854, he was first to lead the van of the party's struggle of that fall, and although a private citizen, contributed largely to the success of the party in 1854.<sup>35</sup> Judge Lockhart

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35. Rockport Democrat, May 24, 1856.

was nominated on the fifth ballot, Wednesday, June 18, 1856, at Petersburg. There were ninety-nine votes, and on the fifth ballot the vote stood: Lockhart, seventy-one; Hovey (then a Democrat), twenty; Niblack, eight. The counties were Martin, Daviess, Knox, Gibson, Posey, Vanderburgh, Warrick, Spencer, Dubois and Pike.<sup>36</sup> In this convention, Dubois county voted nine votes for Lockhart, five times.

In 1856, and previous to that, it was customary for candidates to traverse a district together, thus securing perfect fairness, and giving the people an opportunity of judging the men, side by side, each delivering his address, taking his position and attacking his opponent's, in the presence of the other. In 1856, the Hon. James C. Veatch was Judge Lockhart's opponent for congress. In 1856, he wrote Judge Lockhart as follows:

"Evansville, July 26, 1856.

Judge Lockhart.

Dear Sir: Having accepted the nomination for congress in this district, I desire to make such arrangements with you as may be mutually agreeable for a discussion of the questions of the day.

Yours respectfully,

James C. Veatch."

Judge Lockhart replied as follows:

"Evansville, July 26, 1856.

J. D. Veatch, Esq.

Dear Sir: Your note of this day has just been handed me, and in reply permit me to say that it will afford me great pleasure to meet you in the discussion of the 'questions of the day', at such times and places as may be mutually agreed upon, commencing on

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36. *Ibid.* June 28, 1856.



Monday, twenty-fifth day of August, which will afford us ample time to visit every county in the district.

Respectfully, your obt. servt.,

Jas. Lockhart."

Their trip started at Newburg, September 4, and closed at Boonville, October 11, 1856. They were billed for thirty-three meetings throughout the district.

A study of politics of 1856 brings to mind that there is a familiar ring to the cards that usually appear a few days before a general election. Here is one that probably exposes an attempt to mislead voters and it reads true to form:

"To the Democracy of the First Congressional District of Indiana:

The leaders of the Abolition party in this district have abandoned all hopes of carrying the election in the district by fair means, are now, with the aid of a prostituted press which they have established at Princeton since the commencement of the canvass, endeavoring to succeed by falsehood and distraction. Their paper abounds in low flung personal abuse and false and malicious charges and statements against me. I, therefore, issue this circular to put the democracy of the district on their guard, and to say to them that it is believed that between this and the day of election, the district will be flooded with false, forged and counterfeit affidavits and certificates, preferring all kinds of charges against all Democratic candidates and myself, particularly. I, therefore, caution the public against them and ask candid and fair men of all parties to indignantly frown upon every effort which seeks to carry the election by falsehood, fraud or violence.

Respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

James Lockhart."

Evansville, October 6, 1856.

The above card was directed at the work of the Princeton *Courier* which was supporting Mr. Veatch for con-

gress. In all this review due credit must be given to the fact, no doubt, there were charges and counter-charges.

Here is another example of notices, in 1856:

“RALLY! DEMOCRATS, RALLY!!

We hope the Democrats of Spencer will rally out in their strength on Monday at one o'clock p. m. to hear the speech of the Hon. James Lockhart. The judge is a good speaker and will make the Know-nothing abolition fur fly, so come out one and all.”<sup>37</sup>

In May, 1856, many voters in Dubois county, who were not Democrats, were classified as the “KNOW-NOTHING PROHIBITORY, SEARCH, SEIZURE and CONFISCATION ADVOCATES,” by Democratic newspapers of the Pocket.<sup>38</sup>

In the campaign of 1856, Know-Nothingism was an issue usually charged to the Fremont party, and the campaign was an unusually ugly one. The foreign element went with the Democratic party. The campaign was an introduction to 1860. Judge Lockhart was elected to congress in October, 1856, by a majority of 4,824.

Judge Lockhart was not a good story-teller in political discussions, but he was strong in good, sound reason and logic. James C. Veatch was considered a good story-teller, and that ability was an asset in his political discussions.

In noticing the death of Judge Lockhart the *Evansville Journal*, a Republican paper, of Tuesday, September 8, 1857, paid a fine tribute to Judge Lockhart. It is made a part of this sketch and marked “EXHIBIT D.” The tribute of the *Rockport Democrat* is also in “EXHIBIT D.”

Upon Judge Lockhart's death a congressional conven-

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37. *Ibid.* April 12, 1856.

38. *Ibid.* May 10, 1856.

tion was held at Petersburg to place a man on the Democratic ticket for congress, for the approaching October election.

Judge William E. Niblack was nominated September 30th, and elected October 13, 1857. At the convention which nominated Judge Niblack the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That we express the deepest regret at the untimely demise of our late talented leader, Hon. James Lockhart, and recognize in his loss a vacuum not to be supplied on the domestic hearth, in the social circle and in the ranks of the Democratic party, and that we extend to the widow and friends of the deceased our heartfelt condolence in this their great bereavement."<sup>39</sup>

Judge Niblack was nominated at Petersburg for congress. His vote was 98; Judge Law, 34. It took seventy-three ballots. Judge Niblack was elected and started for Washington, Monday, November 23, 1857.

When Judge Niblack was elected to congress, he resigned as judge, and Judge Smith succeeded him. In 1858, Judge Niblack was again nominated for congress. This time the convention met at Princeton. The vote stood Niblack 115; Judge Law, 4. Law's four votes came from Warrick county. In this convention the leading Democrats from Dubois county were Dr. E. Stephenson and Stephen J. Jerger. The convention was held July 22, 1858. Niblack and Hovey canvassed the district together. Niblack was re-elected.

A Congressional Directory sketch of Judge Lockhart is to be found in "EXHIBIT E."

While a member of congress, Judge Lockhart insisted upon a square deal for the mid-west. In this he took the same stand as did the Hon. George H. Proffit, of

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39. *Ibid.* October 10, 1857.

Petersburg, ten years before. Judge Lockhart possessed a judicial mind that sought the bare facts and the naked truth in all cases before him. Judge Lockhart was an important character in the first congressional district, particularly so in Evansville. It is thought he left no descendants, and thus his name is not among us.

It has been said that an

“analysis of the political history of Indiana reveals the fact that the highest degree of statesmanship and quality of leadership developed between the years 1855-1885. A remarkably large number of Indiana’s sons came to the front during those years and acquired both state and national prominence. Among them were a number of high-grade men who would have done honor to any position to which they might have been assigned.”<sup>40</sup>

It thus appears that Judge Lockhart’s passing away came all too soon. He was in his fifty-second year. His early death is another reminder that pioneers did things early in life, and passed beyond at an age when some men now-a-days just begin to find themselves.

Judge Lockhart was a handsome man with an open, clean-cut face, smooth and pleasing; high forehead, heavy, dark hair, parted directly over his clear right eye, with a heavy lock coming down in front of each ear. His lips were not compressed and his mouth did not present a straight line across his face, such as indicates a mind closed to all future evidence or reason. In the style of the day, he wore his hair long, almost down to the collar of his coat, which was full, wide, and extensive. He dressed in the regulation black, with pleated white shirt, high, white collar and wide, black necktie, a medium between the kind worn by General Harrison in 1835, and Abraham Lincoln in 1865. The white linen collar was

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40. *Indianapolis Star*, February 18, 1921. John B. Stoll.

unusually large, but not rigid. His clothes were made of the dignified broadcloth, of the day as became his profession under the first constitution of Indiana. In all, his appearance was one of a dignified, pleasing person, such as one would enjoy to meet, cultivate and call a friend.

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## PART II

The Following Quotations Are Added to Illuminate the  
Preceding Sketch.

## EXHIBIT "A"

## GRAND JURY SYSTEM

Judge James Lockhart's speech on the Grand Jury System, delivered before the constitutional convention, 1850, at Indianapolis:

"There is, Sir, perhaps no question that has been or will be submitted to the consideration of this convention of more importance to the people of this state than the one now under consideration. The question for decision is—shall the grand jury, an institution which has prevailed for so long a series of years in the country from which we have derived so large a portion of our present laws and institutions and which has been so long and so successfully in operation in this country, be abolished? This, Sir, is an important, a grave question and one which demands the serious consideration of this deliberate body.

"The gentleman from Tippecanoe, Sir, has taken a bold stand in presenting as he has for the consideration of the convention, a proposition which, if not entirely new, is measurably so here. He proposes to change essentially the organic law of the state and upon a point too, which has not attracted the attention of the constitutional conventions in other states of the Confederacy. He desires, Sir, to abolish the Grand Jury System and to substitute in its stead public examinations before justices of the peace. Instead of having bodies of men chosen by the constituted authorities of the state to examine into all violations of the penal statutes, he proposes public examinations before magistrates. I say, Sir, this is a bold proposition. As was remarked by the gentleman from Switzerland (Mr. Kelso), there are in Marion County ten townships and probably twenty-five justices of the peace. Should the proposition of the gentleman from Tippecanoe prevail, the duties that now devolve upon the Grand Jury would be transferred

to these twenty-five justices of the peace. You then have twenty-five petty courts in this county whose duty it would be publicly to inquire into all violations of the penal code, the evidence to be taken down by the respective magistrates and handed over to the clerk of the circuit court, by him to be transferred to the prosecuting attorney and then, if in his judgment there should be evidence enough to warrant a prosecution, he is to make out a proper accusation and file it. This is the plan, as I understand it, presented by the gentleman from Tippecanoe.

"The gentleman from Laporte (Mr. Niles), suggests another plan. He suggests that the five oldest magistrates of the county be chosen to discharge the duties that now devolve upon grand jurors, and that they shall hold open courts at stated periods for the purpose of hearing criminal accusations, and if the evidence be sufficient, recognize or commit the defendant to answer the circuit court, taking down the evidence the same as proposed by the gentleman from Tippecanoe and file it in the clerk's office for the use of the prosecuting attorney; but he does not appear to be satisfied that his plan will work, and if it does not I understand him to be in favor of retaining the present Grand Jury System. Indeed, after listening to his interesting and able argument, I came to the conclusion that he was in doubt himself what would be the best system—and to reduce his argument to a syllogistic form it amounted to this, that he was in favor of abolishing the Grand Jury if a better system could be devised; if not he was in favor of retaining it.

"Mr. L. ————: The gentleman from Tippecanoe says that we do not keep up with the spirit of the age in maintaining the Grand Jury System, that it is an attribute of kingly power, and that it retards rather than advances the interests of society. I do not admit that Grand Juries were instituted as auxiliaries to the crown, but assert that they were instituted to protect the citizen against malicious prosecutions.

"Allusion has been made to the court of the Star Chamber by the gentleman from Tippecanoe, by way of illustrating the position he maintained in regard to the abolition of the Grand Jury System. Now, Sir, I would ask the gentleman whether, if his proposition prevails, we will not be brought back to that period in English history, at which the court of the Star Chamber com-

menced its usurpation of power; whether, if we abolish the Grand Jury System and substitute the one he has proposed, it will not bring us back to the commencement of the reign of Henry VII. Previous to that period Grand Juries were organized and used for the purpose of presenting accusations against criminals for persecutions.

"The earliest history we have of that institution is that it was first introduced among the Saxons, but at what particular period it was adopted it is uncertain. Long before the court of the Star Chamber came into power and during the reign of Henry III, Grand Juries were in existence, and if my reading is correct they were instituted for the protection of the subject, and not to enable the king to carry out his tyrannical purposes. It is true the Grand Jury was virtually abolished by the enlarged jurisdiction assumed by the court of the Star Chamber, during the reign of Henry VII, to enable the crown to carry on its malicious prosecutions, will not the magistrates' courts, with their public examinations, be Star Chamber courts in miniature substituting only the prosecuting attorney for the king?

"The gentleman from Tippecanoe did not, when speaking of English jurisprudence, allude to that period in English history commencing with the reign of Henry VII and terminating with that of Charles I, a period of a hundred years during which the court of the Star Chamber triumphed in the overthrow of the Grand Jury System. He did not refer to the time when Henry and his successors took their seat on the bench and became a component part of the court, to carry out their own behests in violation of law and the rights of the subject. This system of administering the laws of England, prevailed for more than a century, and where was the right of the citizen during that time? This was the period so lightly passed over by the gentleman from Tippecanoe. The wrongs the people of England experienced during that period, called so loudly for redress that during the reign of Charles I the government was compelled to come back to the Grand Jury System. From that period to the present this system has been in use, both in England and America; every state in this Confederacy having incorporated it in their system of jurisprudence and now in the middle of the nineteenth century we are told that to retain it is behind the spirit of the age, I do not believe it.

"While the gentleman from Tippecanoe and the gentleman from Laporte are both strenuous in favor of the abolition of the Grand Jury System, they are equally anxious, they say, to afford to the accused an impartial trial by jury. How, Sir, I would inquire, if this resolution should be adopted and the Grand Jury System abolished are you to increase the chances for fair and impartial trials? There would exist the same objections to making public examinations before a single magistrate, as proposed by the gentleman from Tippecanoe, or three, four or five magistrates as proposed by the gentleman from Laporte, that there would be to public examinations before Grand Juries. The gentlemen who advocate the abolition of the Grand Jury System, admit that public examination before Grand Juries would never answer; my opinion is that they would answer in one place as well as the other.

"Public examination must inevitably tend to lessen the chances for a fair trial before a traverse jury. Suppose the public mind becomes inflamed in regard to some particular criminal, how can he rely upon having a fair and impartial jury when all the evidence for and against him is known? But preserve the secrecy of the Grand Jury, let his case be examined there, keep the evidence from the public, and you increase his chances for a fair and impartial trial. How frequently is it now, that in counties where there have been certain violations of the penal law, that the public mind becomes exasperated and inflamed against the accused, so much so that a great number of applications are made for a change of venue, how much more frequent would these applications be if all examinations were public. And, Sir, three-fourths of these applications are brought about by the public investigation which we must necessarily have before committing magistrates, and at coroners' inquests. When any great crime has been committed, the whole community flocks to hear the trial, and the prisoner knowing that fact—knowing that the public mind is prejudiced against him, from having heard the examination, pleads for a change of venue. The court cannot fail to see that there is some ground for apprehensions entertained by the prisoner, and if not compelled by an imperative mandate of the law, would, from a sense of justice, feel bound to grant the prayer of the accused, the prisoner is transferred for trial, to another juris-

diction, where there are men whose minds have not been warped or prejudiced against him, where there are men who are entirely ignorant of the transaction, who can be placed on the panel, hear the evidence and pronounce an impartial and just verdict. In my judgment, Sir, nothing can be clearer than that, if public examinations are instituted, application on application will be made for changes of venue, because of the difficulty in getting fair and impartial juries. I would say here, Sir, that I am not in favor of having all offenses punished by indictment. I have long since arrived at the conclusion that our legislation ought to be different on that subject, and that a large number of misdemeanors now punishable by indictment, might be tried before justices of the peace, reserving of course the right of appeal. I think that in this particular, the Grand Jury System may be modified, without infringing the rights of the citizen, but I am utterly opposed to its entire abolition, considering, as I do, that no substitute can be found. And, Sir, before I would vote to abolish the Grand Jury, and place it in the power of one man to hear the evidence, take it down as he understands it, and then give the prosecuting attorney the power, from that evidence, to prepare an indictment and bring a citizen to trial—I say, Sir, before I could vote for such a proposition as this, a radical change must be wrought in my mind, I would, Sir, with my present impression as soon think of voting for the celebrated French declaration that there was no Sabbath and that death was an eternal sleep. I prefer rather to vest that power in the hands of eighteen Grand Jurors—men not versed in law and fresh from the masses of the people. Keep your prosecuting attorney out of the Grand Jury room, except when invited there as the legal adviser of the jury, so that he may exert no undue influence over them. Leave them to act free from dictation or any extraneous influence, and they will invariably do right. During my brief career at the bar I have prosecuted for the state and can bear testimony to the high and honorable bearing of citizens who usually compose Grand Juries. Let them receive the charge of the court, examine the statute law of the state, hear the evidence of the witnesses, and leave them unfettered by the admonitions of the prosecuting attorney, and, my word for it, ninety-nine out of a hundred of their decisions will prove correct. Malicious prosecutions to be sure, may sometimes be preferred, but abolish the



Grand Jury System and there will be ninety-nine malicious prosecutions preferred by the prosecuting attorney and his petty magistrates to one made by the Grand Jury.

"I repeat again, Sir, that there is no question in which the people are more deeply interested than in that of a fair and impartial administration of the criminal law of the state. It is due to our citizens and the state that such a system of jurisprudence should be adopted by this convention, as will not only guarantee the rights of citizens, but will at the same time secure to the state her full rights, and enable us under all circumstances, without unnecessary delay, to punish those who violate our penal laws. Can we do this, Sir, by abolishing the present Grand Jury System, and substituting public examinations before justices of the peace in its place? I think not. I am of opinion that no institution or system can be devised so perfectly well adapted to secure the rights of citizens and of the states as that of the Grand Jury. I predict, Sir, that if the principles contained in this resolution are adopted and embodied in the new constitution that at the expiration of five years there will be found a large majority of the people of this state in favor of coming back to the Grand Jury. It will be found that the expense of prosecuting before magistrates will far exceed the expense of the Grand Jury System. The expense, however, is not what I look at. The question is, is this institution an important element in the perpetuity of our free institutions? If it is it matters not what it costs. The question is not one of dollars and cents, but is it the best system for effecting the purpose designed in its organization?"

Proceedings, Volume I, pages 200 and 202.

## EXHIBIT "B"

## BANKING

Remarks in part, of Judge James Lockhart, on BANKING, delivered in the constitutional convention, January 7, 1851:

"There was, perhaps, no period in the history of the Western country so favorable to the assembling of a convention to lay down the fundamental laws of a free state, as the period at which the convention of 1816 assembled. It was immediately after the close of the late war with Great Britain that the delegates of the Indiana Territory assembled in convention at Corydon to form our present constitution. It was a period when universal bankruptcy prevailed throughout the land—when business of every kind was prostrated; at a period when we had but little or no commerce upon which to levy import duties, or to replenish an exhausted, a bankrupt national treasury. It was at that gloomy period in the financial history of the United States, that our constitution was formed, and it will not be saying too much for the delegates of the convention that they formed a better constitution for Indiana, than any then known to our political history. It was the first constitution, I believe, of any state in which the elective franchise was declared open and free to every citizen. It was at that day a model constitution; since then many of the older states have assembled in convention to alter, revise and amend their organic laws; the bright example set forth by Indiana in placing all her citizens upon the same broad political platform, by most of them, was deemed worthy of imitation. Indiana was the first state of the Union that declared in her constitution that there should be no bank or banking institution established in the state unless it should be a state bank and branches, in which, by implication at least the state was to be a stockholder, and that individual stock to a certain amount should be subscribed and paid in, in specie, before the bank could commence operations. The farmers of the constitution had seen the evils incident to independent or free banking. They had seen the entire banking system of Kentucky go by the board. They had seen bank after bank in other states go bankrupt. They

had seen the country flooded with the paper of broken banks, not worth a cent on the dollar. They had known the farmer, the mechanic and the laboring man to receive in exchange for his produce, his wares or his labor, that which was supposed to be money, and that which passed for money in the evening which on the following day was of little value as so much blank paper. They had been eye witnesses to the (enormous) monstrous frauds which had been practiced by these "shin-plaster machines," upon the honest, unsuspecting citizens. To remedy those evils they placed the provision in the constitution to which I have alluded, and but for that wise and wholesome provision, I have no doubt but that Indiana would have been this day overrun with rotten, with worthless banks, the same as many of our sister states have been and now are. As Indianians we may feel proud of the convention of 1816; if our labors shall close with the production of a constitution as far in advance of other states now, as was the constitution of 1816 then, we may congratulate ourselves with having discharged the high and important duties assigned us, to the satisfaction of those who sent us here. Under that constitution Indiana took her place in our glorious sisterhood of states with a population barely sufficient for admission; but how does the account stand today? In the brief period of thirty-four years our population has increased from sixty thousand to a million. How rapid the change! How amazing the advancement! Up to 1834 we progressed slowly but steadily. In that year the legislature incorporated the present state bank. From that period a brighter day dawned for Indiana. From that time to the present, our growth and improvements have been extremely rapid. Since the organization of the state bank as imperfect and monopolizing as it is, and the overthrow of the bank of the United States, every interest throughout the state has prospered and improved, without a parallel in the progress of states. Since then our population has rapidly increased; nearly doubled, perhaps more than doubled.

"It must be admitted by every gentleman upon this floor that the state bank has done much towards producing the rapid changes to which I have alluded. It has enabled produce dealers and commercial men to purchase for cash and at fair prices, the rich productions of the soil. It has furnished means to the farmer, by which to enable him to add to his possessions and the number of

his fields, by increasing the value of his produce. No one, I think, will deny this. If he does, let me refer him to the ten years immediately preceding the establishment of the bank, and ask him, to contrast that period with the ten years next succeeding its establishment. By so doing, he will find that the products of the farm brought at least fifty per cent more on the average annually, after its incorporation than before.

"I have now briefly alluded to some of the benefits which I think the community at large has derived from the institution of the state bank. That the bank has been productive of some evil, as well as much good, no one acquainted with its operations, will pretend to deny. But that the benefits which the community at large have derived from it, are infinitely (was) superior to the evils which it has entailed, but few, I apprehend will dispute. With a knowledge of these facts before us, can we, in the present financial history of the country, as prudent and consistent men, withdraw this institution, and substitute in its place free banks? Shall we destroy an institution which from its commencement, has furnished us with a safe and sound paper circulation, a circulation in which our entire population has confidence?

"I call upon delegates to pause and reflect before they do it—to be well advised before they transplant to our soil the New York or Michigan system of free banking. Banking I have always regarded as an evil, but an evil which for the present we must tolerate. The interests of the people demand it. We are an agricultural people; our farms and plantations are every year being enlarged, and an increased amount of territory brought within the bounds of cultivation. As an evidence of our rapid increase in agricultural productions, it is only necessary to refer to the well-attested fact, that more produce passes through the Wabash and White rivers, in the course of a year, than twenty-five years ago passed down the Ohio in the same time. This rapid increase in the productions of the soil, is not limited to Indiana. The entire west is becoming one vast garden. Our lakes and rivers, which but a few years ago were our main thoroughfares to market are now inadequate to our marts. A canal passing from the north-eastern corner to the southwestern angle of the state, is nearly completed. To this, railroads and plank roads are being added in almost every direction. All of which are needed to bear off the

rich production of the soil. To sustain these interests, is the plain duty of every citizen. Can it be done by limiting the circulation to gold and silver? Those best acquainted with the financial affairs of the country, say no. They insist that our currency, with all the aids we receive from banks, is inadequate to our wants. Withdraw from the circulation the \$125,000,000 of bank paper now in circulation and put in circulation the \$51,000,000 of specie in the vaults of the banks, and you will withdraw from circulation \$74,000,000 of currency; a result which no friend to commerce or the interests of the agricultural portion of our people would desire. Yet to annihilate banks would produce this very result. Hence the cry for banks. The people in the portion of the state from which I come, are generally in favor of a state bank and branches. In the northern and central portions the cry is "free banks." For myself, I can say, that if I must choose between the two systems, I am decidedly in favor of the state bank system. My great anxiety is, that if we tolerate banks at all, that we should have none but sound solvent specie-paying banks, and if we cannot have such, let us have none. The state bank approximates as near to this standard as any banking institution well can. Will free banks do as well? This inquiry can only be answered by comparison, as we have no practical experience in free banking."

(See Proceedings of the Convention, Volume II, page 1557.)

## EXHIBIT "C"

### INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

Speech of Judge James Lockhart on River and Harbor Bill, July 22, 1852:

Among other things, Judge Lockhart said:

"In that provision of the bill which appropriates money for the improvement of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, the people of the district which I have the honor of representing are deeply interested. That district extends from the mouth of the Wabash River to within eight miles of the Falls of the Ohio, a distance



of about two hundred and fifty miles. Fronting this district most of the obstructions in the lower Ohio are to be found. My constituents, then, are deeply interested in every movement made for the improvement of the navigation of that noble river.

"I, Sir, would prove recreant to duty and the best interests of my constituents were I to omit to urge the importance of these improvements upon the attention of congress, and to ask its favorable action upon them. The waters which descend the western slope of the Alleghanies and drain the great basin of the Mississippi Valley, in their meandering course to the ocean, wash the shores of thirteen of the finest states of this Confederacy. Upon the bosom of the noble rivers of the West, the rich agricultural productions of these vast regions are borne to market, and millions of our fellow-citizens, in their passage from one section of the republic to another, annually travel.

"Before proceeding to give my views upon the merits of the bill now before the committee, it is perhaps proper that I should say that I belong to the class of politicians who believe in a strict and rigid adherence to the principles of the constitution.

"I maintain that the states are independent powers, and possess absolute sovereignty, which carries with it an undoubted right to legislate upon all questions unless restrained by local constitutional law or the Federal Constitution, and that congress possesses no power to legislate upon any subject unless that power is expressly delegated to it by the constitution, or necessarily implied to enable the expressly delegated powers to be executed. To travel beyond this point in looking for authority for our action, we are trespassing upon the reserved rights of the states and the people. This is what I understand to be a states-rights Democratic doctrine. Professing to be guided by these views, I can vote for most of the appropriations contained in this bill. I am aware, Sir, that upon this subject there are differences of opinion between members of the same great political family, and it is probably fortunate for the country that it is so. If we were all of one mind, and in power, by taking one direction, profligacy and extravagance might mark our course; if the other, the wants, interests and rights of the people might be neglected and disregarded. These different and conflicting views, while they restrain and control extravagance and waste, will insist upon a just and liberal policy

which will impose no unnecessary or unjust burdens or restrictions upon any class of our fellow-citizens, but on the contrary afford just and equal protection and facilities to all. I, Sir, agree with neither of these extremes; there is a medium, a just and prudent course, which I think, with all due deference to the opinions of others, ought to be pursued.

"This course was clearly and distinctly laid down by General Jackson, one of our ablest and most patriotic presidents. That doctrine is so clear and explicit, that he who reads can understand it. It received a universal approval from the American people at the time of its promulgation. It was then regarded as a Democratic doctrine, and those who rightly understand the doctrine of the Democratic party, I apprehend, will regard the teachings of Jackson as Democratic now. While he was very clear and explicit against all improvements of a local character, he was equally clear and explicit in favor of judicious appropriations for the improvement of our great navigable rivers. \* \* \*

"Here, Sir, you have the views of the sage of the Hermitage, a man whose memory will be revered, and whose name will be handed down to posterity as one of the ablest expounders of constitutional law, of this or any other age. Few men of any age have possessed more of those controlling qualities which combine to make the great man than did Andrew Jackson. By the lights of his counsel, I profess to be guided. By the standard which he erected, I am willing that my political faith shall be tested.

"But, Sir, General Jackson was not the only Democratic president who favored improvements of the character I advocate, they have received the countenance and support of Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. Does any one doubt it? I will give him incontestable proof. Washington, during his administration, approved some twenty bills, making specific appropriations for the erection and support of light-houses, and at least one for the support, maintenance and repairs of 'beacons, buoys and public piers, erected, placed or sunk within any bay, inlet, harbor or point of the United States'." etc. \* \* \*

In this manner Judge Lockhart entered upon his speech asking for an appropriation to improve the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, etc.

(Appendix, Volume XXV, Page 863, Congressional Globe.)

In this connection it is well to state that the eastern states, or states east of the mountains, were not very favorable to the development of the Mississippi valley.

## EXHIBIT "D"

### NEWSPAPER TRIBUTES

The Evansville *Journal's* tribute to Judge James Lockhart:

"It is with grief and sadness that we announce the death of our townsman Judge James Lockhart, member of congress elect from this district. He died on Monday morning, the seventh inst., at three o'clock. He has been lingering for months, with the fatal disease of an ulcerated stomach, daily and visibly declining to the grave, which he approached with calmness, fortitude and hope, and has at last entered its gates, and they have closed over him forever, and shut from the eyes of those who have for the period of a generation seen him an active and conspicuous member of our community.

"In his grave lie buried all political animosities and personal envies, and we recall at this sad hour only the virtues, the good deeds, and the noble traits of the deceased, and in reflecting upon these, we can join in sympathy with his bereaved friends, and shed tears of grief and sorrow over his departure.

"It is sad to number the long train of old and worthy citizens who are daily passing from us to the tomb. Those who can recall the members of the old bar, as they traveled with the court twenty years ago, around the long circuit, a band of men, made athletic in body by travel and exposure, and ready and vigorous mentally by constant intellectual conflicts—generous and frank by mutual confidence and respect—are saddened by the reflection how few of them remain, lingering upon the earthly side of the grave. Judge Lockhart has for more than twenty-five years, been a conspicuous associate of them, and has been known to almost every

man living within the old first congressional district of Indiana; and few there are among the whole population, who will not—forgetting all former political prejudices—feel sadness and grief at his death. He became a resident of this city in 1832, then a mere village—and has been a participant, in its fortunes—a promoter of its growth and prosperity—manifesting a lively interest in its advancement up to the day of his exit.

“He was born in Auburn, State of New York, in the year 1806, and was therefore in the fifty-second year of his age. He began the practice of law here in 1833, and soon became a popular and influential advocate—and in 1841 he was elected prosecuting attorney for this judicial district, by a legislature, a majority of whose members were opposed to him in political sentiments. In 1843 he was re-elected to the same office. In 1845 he was appointed judge of this circuit for a term of seven years, which position he held until September, 1851, when he resigned it to take his seat in congress. His first election to congress was in October, 1850. At the election of 1852 he gave way to the pretensions of Col. Smith Miller. At the last October election (1856) he was again elected to congress, carrying the district, after a very warm contest, by a majority of nearly five thousand votes.

“Though his friends have long feared he would never fill his seat in the House, yet he has been maturing plans for the accomplishment of various public objects, for the benefit of his district, and promised himself the honor and gratification of achieving them. But his labors are ended and those who have known him so long amid the busy scenes around us, ‘will know him no more forever’. There is a void in the community, that will long be felt in the social circle—at the domestic hearth—in the forum—and in the political arena. He has ever been the leader of his party in the ‘Pocket’.”

(Page 2, column 2, the *Rockport Weekly Democrat*, Saturday, September 12, 1857; copied from the *Evansville Journal* of September 8, 1857.)

Rockport *Democrat's* tribute:

In the Rockport *Democrat*, of August 22, 1857, the following appears:

"Hon. James Lockhart. We are pained to learn, from private dispatches from Evansville, that the Hon. James Lockhart, M. C. elect from this district is rapidly sinking under that fell destroyer of the human race, consumption, and that in all probability he will be unable to take his seat in the next congress. Every Democrat in southern Indiana will very seriously regret this, as the importance of the question just now agitating the country demands the counsels and firm support of just such reliable men as the Hon. James Lockhart. This district especially will feel the loss of the ripe experience and unwearied devotions to her interests of the honorable member elect. We still indulge the hope that he may recover his health, and be permitted to take his proper position in the thirty-sixth congress."

## After Judge Lockhart's death this tribute appeared:

"We learn with regret that the Hon. James Lockhart is dead. He died Monday morning at his residence in Evansville. He had been ill for a long time, and his death, from the nature of the disease was anticipated. The judge had many warm and devoted friends throughout the first congressional district, who will really and sincerely regret his departure hence. On the other hand, he had many bitter political enemies, who will doubtless rejoice at his demise. The judge was a terror to the opponents of Democracy. His principles and his party received the constant support of his warm and generous heart, and his death will leave a vacancy in the ranks of the Democratic party that will be hard to fill."

(The Rockport *Democrat*, September 12, 1857.)



## EXHIBIT "E"

CONGRESSIONAL SKETCH OF JUDGE JAMES  
LOCKHART

"James Lockhart, a representative from Indiana; born in Auburn, New York, February 13, 1806; moved to Indiana in 1832; studied law, was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Evansville, Indiana, in 1834; prosecuting attorney of Vanderburgh county, 1841-1842; judge of the fourth judicial district, 1845-1851; delegate in the state constitutional convention of 1850; elected as a Democrat to the thirty-second congress (March 4, 1851-March 3, 1853); re-elected to the thirty-fifth congress, but died before the assembling of the congress, in Evansville, Indiana, September 7, 1857."

(Congressional Directory, Senate Documents, Volume LVI, page 814.)

Mrs. Agnes Lockhart Twineham of Princeton, who was a niece of Judge James Lockhart, kindly furnished the following clippings from the newspapers of the period indicated:

## EXHIBIT "F"

The following is taken from the Evansville *Daily Enquirer*:

"At a meeting of the members of the bar of Vanderburgh County, in the court room, September 8, 1857, during the session of the court of Common Pleas, to show respect to the memory of the Hon. James Lockhart, deceased; James G. Jones, Esq., was called to the chair, and Edmund B. Seymour, Esq., was appointed secretary.

"On motion, a committee consisting of Conrad Baker, Asa Iglehart and Charles Denby, Esqs., was appointed to draft suitable resolutions. The committee presented the following, which were unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That we lament with deep regret the death of Hon. James Lockhart, late a member of this bar, and that we sympathise with his bereaved family in their affliction.

"Resolved, That having known the deceased by an intimate professional and social intercourse for many years, we render willing testimony to his purity and ability as a judge; to his high attainments as a practitioner of the law, and to his work as a man.

"Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, this court be requested to adjourn until tomorrow morning at nine o'clock; the members of the bar and the officers of the court attend the funeral in a body, and that we wear crape on the left arm for thirty days.

"Resolved, That these resolutions be spread on the records of this court, and that they be published in the newspapers of this city, and that the newspapers of this judicial circuit be requested to copy the same, and that a copy of proceedings of this meeting be handed to the widow of the deceased by the chairman.

JAS. G. JONES, Chairman.

EDMUND B. SEYMOUR, Secretary."

### EXHIBIT "G"

The following legal notice appeared in an Evansville paper, October 8, 1857, for three weeks:

#### ADMINISTRATRIX'S NOTICE

Notice is hereby given that the undersigned has been appointed administratrix, with the will annexed of the estate of James Lockhart, late of Vanderburgh County, deceased. Said estate is supposed to be solvent.

SARAH C. LOCKHART,

Administratrix with the will annexed.

(October 8—3w)

## EXHIBIT "H"

In the Evansville *Daily Enquirer* (John B. Hall, editor), of Tuesday, September 8, 1857, appears the following OBITUARY:

## "HON. JAMES LOCKHART

"When a public man passes away from among scenes with which he has long been identified, and persons with whom he has long been connected, it is meet that a tribute should be rendered to his memory. When all that is mortal of him is consigned to its elemental dust, all feelings except those of regret and kind remembrance take their flight. The loss of a patriot and statesman is not confined to the narrow limits of his own immediate neighborhood, but in its far reaching ramifications is a public calamity. And now when our beloved country is just feeling the lull succeeding a great political crisis it is more than ever to be regretted when true and brave hearts fall from their posts in the ship of state, when it is so necessary that by their wise and prudent counsels the waves of the political ocean may be softened from what may be only a rigidly deceitful calm to an abiding stillness.

"James Lockhart is dead; and while we sincerely lament his loss as a tried personal friend, we cannot banish from our mind the great grief, that one of the noblest and most unflinching of the champions of democracy has left his post of command. Judge Lockhart was born on the thirteenth day of February, 1806, in the village of Auburn, Cayuga County, New York. In the fall of the year 1832 he removed to Evansville, where he has ever since continued to reside. In 1833 he commenced the study of the law and was admitted to practice in 1834 and cast his lot here and has ever since continued, by his counsels and exertions, to contribute to our present state of municipal prosperity. We have often heard him tell of the paucity of democrats on his first arrival here. But by his earnest and unremitted zeal and activity in the cause he has had the satisfaction of seeing the party of his faith going on from small to great, and spreading its branches from those, weak as the shoot from a mustard seed, until it has become the great tree in which the weary winged wanderer of political prejudice and monarchical oppression may be at rest.

"In the year 1841 Judge Lockhart was elected by the legislature of Indiana, prosecuting attorney for the fourth judicial circuit for the term of two years. Discharging the duties of his office with ability and faithfulness, he was again elected by the same body to the same office in the year 1843. During his travels through the district in his official capacity, he embraced every opportunity to disseminate the great principles of his political faith, and had the satisfaction of beholding and reaping the fruits of his exertions. On the fourth day of December he was elected by the General Assembly of this state to the office of judge for the judicial circuit in which he had so ably filled the prosecuting attorneyship. Receiving his commission from Governor James Whitcomb on the twenty-first January, 1846, he continued in the discharge of the duties of his office until the twenty-first day of September, 1851, when the resignation of judgeship tendered by him was accepted.

"In the fall of 1850 he was elected a member of the constitutional convention of this state, and was active in his exertions to improve the charter of our state liberties.

"The democracy of the first congressional district, when in the fall of the year 1850 they wished to elect a candidate to represent them in the halls of our national congress, chose Judge Lockhart as their standard bearer. He was triumphantly returned, and took his seat, which he filled with distinguished ability. After the expiration of his congressional term he resumed the practice of his profession, and in 1853, was appointed by President Pierce, as superintendent of the construction of the Marine Hospital in this city. When the know-nothing party first sprung up, Judge Lockhart was among the first to oppose and combat its pernicious principles. He took every opportunity to denounce the members of the secret organization and their aims, as opposed to the constitution of the United States and contrary to the spirit of our political institutions. The wrath of the members of the order was leveled at his head; threats were made against him; personal friendships were alienated; his professional practice was injured, but conscious of the rectitude of his purpose and firm in his patriotism, he never turned back or wavered in his hostility. In public discussion and private conversation he was the same devoted

opponent of the attempts of the know-nothing party to subvert the great charter of our liberties.

"During the most fearful political contest which ever racked our republic, Judge Lockhart was again chosen as the congressional standard bearer of the democracy of the first congressional district. Entering into the canvass with vigor and alacrity, notwithstanding his failing health, he carried terror into the ranks of the opposition by his trenchant arguments, and enjoyed the satisfaction of being returned to congress by nearly five thousand majority over his black republican competitor, Veatch. The efforts he necessarily made and the fatigue he was compelled to undergo during his canvass, completely destroyed his impaired strength, and as one with his mission complete, as far as human strength could make it, he has gone to his final rest. The destroying angel had no terrors for him. Calmly and peacefully he passed away. With his mind strong and unimpaired until the last, he gave directions concerning his affairs and spoke words of peace to those surrounding his bedside. Well might he have exclaimed 'Non omnis moriar', for a great part of him will still live in his deeds, and in the hearts of the democracy. Even those who differed with him in political sentiments, will mourn his loss as a citizen or a personal friend, while we of the democratic party must mourn him as a champion not easily replaced."

### EXHIBIT "I"

The following beautiful TRIBUTE to the memory of Judge Lockhart appeared in an Evansville paper at the time of his death. It is written in the full flower of the language of his day and generation. It is well worth a careful perusal:

#### "CONGRESS AND LOCKHART"

The Congress of the American nation convenes two weeks from to-morrow. The great men of the Union shall then meet in the exercise of the highest functions of a free people. Washington City shall then again be the center of attraction—the throbbing, pulsat-



ing heart of this ocean-bound Union—and the agitated and uncertain star of hope to the wishful and the oppressed of many a clime. Common citizens, talented gentlemen, distinguished orators, tried patriots and approved statesmen shall go up from every territory and from every Congressional district of every sovereign state. Elements of discord, demagoguery and prescription may be there also. Washington, however, completely aroused from her slumber of the last preceding fall and summer shall be herself again—all politics, all fashion, all life, all bustle—and overwhelmingly, full. And as attraction deepens, the arrival of every train of cars shall continue to make accessions, and additional accessions, to the wit and wisdom, tact and talent, wealth and beauty, and intelligence and patriotism, that had already assembled from every nook and corner of the land. But, amid all this life-stirring scene, and among this mighty Congress of great men, if you pause to look for or search out one familiar face—one that has been at home there, a peer among the greatest in times gone by; a statesman that the people of Indiana set store to, as one of her most favorite and reliable sons; and who was commissioned in 1856 by the democracy of her banner district to a seat in this same Congress, you will pause—look, search, in vain. James Lockhart is no more. Though called and commissioned to serve the nation for years to come, he harkened first to another and higher call. That he has gone out from among us, is OUR loss not HIS.

“His soul, enlarged from its vile bonds, has gone  
To that refulgent world where it shall swim  
In liquid light, and float on seas of bliss!”

“Let us offer a tribute to his memory: As a citizen, he has long been identified with the interests of Evansville, its prosperity and growth. As a friend he was warm and generous. In the hearts of all who knew him in friendship—socially and politically—his name is embalmed forever. The hallowed associations of that name shall grow greener, fresher and dearer, while one of us is left remaining on earth to deplore his absence.

“Lofty and sour to those that loved him not,  
But to those that sought him, sweet as summer.”

"In the political arena the name of Lockhart alone was a tower of strength to his friends and a terror to his enemies. Every pulsation of his heart was democratic. Bold and unswerving fidelity marked his whole course of life—and his undeviating attachment to friends and to principles, his indomitable energy in defending them, his stern patriotism, his high attainments, and the great amount of effective labor which he contributed to the cause of democracy and the best interests of our common country—all, pre-eminently marked him out as the champion of his party. It may be truly said that Judge Lockhart, at the continual sacrifice of his time and money, did, with his own hands—with his life-blood, and the best energies of a highly gifted and devoted patriot—lay deep and broad the foundations, and stone by stone did he rear the proud superstructure and crowning embattlements of Indiana democracy, that have so successfully and gloriously withstood the fiery, and frenzied, and midnight assaults of whiggery, know-nothingism and all other isms of the day. The First Congressional district is the citadel of democracy that gave the State to Willard, Buchanan and the constitution; and while the memory of James Lockhart lives this democratic Gibraltar shall remain impregnable forever. Then, in justice to him, to ourselves and to posterity, let us inscribe that name in imperishable characters high upon the outer walls, and upon the standard of victory.

"So identified and interwoven is the name of Lockhart with the democracy of Southwestern Indiana that we can scarcely bring ourself to believe that he is not now on duty in the front ranks of the party, dealing giant blows and beating back, as usual, the enemies of our country—we cannot, cannot realize, scarcely, that our chieftain has fallen! His bright history, his shining deeds are before us. Blunt, open and truthful—his undying fidelity to friends and country, his unconquerable, generous, and far-seeing ambition looms up higher and higher. We have said, however, that he is no more on earth. On the 7th of September last he appeared to have departed this life without a struggle.

"'Like a shadow thrown softly and sweetly from  
A passing cloud,  
Death fell upon him.'

"Judge Lockhart was born in Auburn, New York, February 13, 1806. He removed to Evansville and commenced the study of law, the practice of which he began in 1835. He filled with honor to himself and constituency, many important offices. Among many others that of Congressman; and in 1856 was again, after a hotly-contested canvass, returned to Congress by a majority of 5,000 votes.

"In his decease the democracy of Indiana is bereaved of an able champion, Evansville of an enterprising and energetic citizen, the bar an accomplished member, and the domestic hearth an invaluable companion.

" 'We followed him when living;  
We honor him when dead.' "

### EXHIBIT "J"

(From the *Evansville Daily Enquirer* of January 3, 1858.)

In the House of Representatives, at Washington, on December 23, 1857, Judge Niblack, of Vincennes, took the floor and said:

"Mr. Speaker, I rise for the purpose of making an announcement similar to the one you have just heard—to announce the death of the Hon. James Lockhart, also a member elect to the present Congress from the State of Indiana. He died at his residence in the city of Evansville, in that State, on the 7th day of September last, after a severe and protracted illness.

"It will thus be seen that the hand of affliction has fallen heavily upon Indiana; that of the eleven members elected to the present Congress from that State, in October, 1856, two have already gone to the tomb.

"Judge Lockhart was born at the village of Auburn, in the State of New York, on the 13th day of February, 1806. In the fall of 1832 he emigrated to the State of Indiana, and located in the then village, but now city, of Evansville, in which he continued to reside until the time of his death. Not long after his location in Indiana, he commenced the practice of the law as a profession,

in which he continued, except at brief intervals, up to the time of his death.

"In the winter of 1841-42 he was elected by the Legislature of this State prosecuting attorney of his Judicial circuit. Two years afterwards he was re-elected for another term. In the winter of 1845-46, after the close of his second term as prosecuting attorney, he was elected presiding judge of the same judicial circuit. In the summer of 1850, while still in commission as judge of his circuit, he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention, which assembled in that year to revise and amend the constitution of his State. Of that talented and influential body of men he was one of the most active and efficient members.

"In August, 1851, he was elected a member of the Thirty-Second Congress, and in the month following he resigned the office of circuit judge to enable him to take his seat in that body. He served as a member of that Congress for the full term. In the spring of 1853, after the expiration of that Congress, he resumed the practice of his profession.

"In the fall of 1856, after one of the bitterest contests ever known within our State, he was elected a member of the present Congress by a largely increased and overwhelmingly majority.

"At the time of his last election he was in feeble and failing health. It was obvious that, without a speedy restoration, his span of life was short. Notwithstanding the feeble condition of his health, he continued in the active discharge of the duties of his profession, and of those public duties which his position devolved upon him, until utter prostration bid him cease. Never was that iron will and indomitable energy, which so much distinguished him through life, so clearly manifest as during the last trying months of the most distressing illness. He died as the strong man dieth; he literally fell with the harness upon him. In matters political, Judge Lockhart was devotedly attached to the organization and the creed of the party with which he affiliated. As a political leader, he was bold and indefatigable. During the last fifteen years of his life, I enjoyed much of his personal friendship and confidence. But few persons, outside of his immediate family friends, knew him more intimately than I have known him. Having been elected to fill the place made vacant by his death, and occupying his seat in this House to-day, it affords me pleas-

ure to bear willing testimony to his energy, ability, and integrity as a public officer, and to the fidelity with which he discharged the many important trusts confided to him as a public man.

"Here, as in the ranks of the army, when one falls another takes his place, and everything moves on as before; but not so in the private relations of life. When a near and tried friend is stricken down, there is no one to take his place. When the protecting arm of a husband is withered into dust, there is no adequate earthly consolation.

"I submit the following resolutions for adoption:

"Resolved, That the members of this House have heard with deep regret the announcement of the death of the Hon. James Lockhart, a member elect from the First Congressional District of the State of Indiana.

"Resolved, That in token of respect for the memory of the deceased, the members and officers of this House will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

"Resolved, That the Clerk of this House forward a copy of these resolutions to the widow of the deceased."

Mr. Davis, of Indiana, then made the following remarks:

"Mr. Speaker, I rise to second the resolutions just offered by my colleague (Mr. Niblack) I do not propose on this occasion to pronounce a lengthened eulogy on the life, character, and public services of the deceased. Were I disposed to do so, I would fail, I am sure, to improve on what has already been so well and so impressively said by my colleague; but being the only member of this House from the State which I have the honor, in part, to represent, who served with the deceased during the Thirty-third Congress, I cannot find it in my heart to remain silent, or to refuse, on this solemn occasion, to give utterance of a few words of sincere respect for the memory of the deceased and of condolence with his sorrow-stricken family in their bereavement.

"That I have known Judge Lockhart long and intimately, will remain among my most cherished remembrances. I knew him in the walks of private life and in the social circle, where he was respected by all who had the pleasure of his society. I knew



him as the efficient prosecuting attorney of his judicial circuit. I knew him as the able, upright, and impartial judge. I knew him as the representative of the people of the First Congressional district of his adopted State, on the floor of this House; in all of which positions he discharged his duties with ability and fidelity; with entire satisfaction to his constituents and to the country.

"Judge Lockhart, though naturally retiring and unobtrusive, was no ordinary man. He was a sound jurist and a sagacious politician, possessing a clear, logical, and discriminating mind. He was kind and benevolent to a fault; ardent in his friendship; firm and decided in his opinions, yet charitable towards those with whom he differed. Although always a firm and decided democrat, often participating in the exciting and angry political contests through which the country has been passing for the last twenty years, his high bearing and manly deportment gained, as their meed, the applause and admiration of his political adversaries.

"I saw Judge Lockhart in this city in March last, which was the last occasion of our meeting. The disease which finally proved fatal, was then progressing, and rapidly approaching the citadel of life. His physical powers were fast declining; but though feeble, his spirit was buoyant with the hope that he would ultimately recover. He spoke feelingly of our long acquaintance and former service here together, of many pleasant anticipations for our mutual interest during the approaching session; but, alas! these fond hopes have been blighted, and he is gone from among us forever.

"Mr. Speaker, why should I say more? Judge Lockhart is dead! How fresh in my remembrance is the occasion of the sad announcement! What a thrill of sorrow it brought with it, as it first fell upon my ear! How the memories of the past clustered thick and fast around me, and how instinctively, how deeply my mind yielded to the impress of the truth of the uncertainty of human life, and the utter futility of human fame and ambition! Sir, before we shall have discharged our duties, and finished our labors here, the shaft of death may make vacant the chairs which you and I occupy, and the ever-startling announcement again be flashed on the wings of lightning to the remotest portions of the republic. I say, such, sir, may be among the inscrutable decrees of Providence; then, we should let this sad announcement of to-day

affect our inner hearts, and admonish us that the inexorable hour awaits us all. Let it impress upon us all the necessity for the exercise of a spirit of kindness and forbearance for and toward each other, and let it soften the asperities which too often appear in our unguarded moments in the heat and excitement of debate.

"In conclusion, sir, from a sincere heart I invoke the blessings of Heaven upon the bereaved widow, and pray that the wind may be tempered to the shorn lamb. The resolutions were adopted."

### EXHIBIT "K"

In the *Evansville Journal and General Advertiser* published at Evansville, Indiana, No. 37, Vol. 1, under date of July 16, 1835, appears the following:

#### "ORATION,

Delivered on the 4th of July, 1835, by James Lockhart, Esq. Published at the request of the Committee of Arrangements.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

Of the task which the kind, but inconsiderate partiality, your committee of arrangement has imposed upon me, I feel most sensibly the difficulty and importance. Had it developed upon an individual more competent to throw around it the lustre of distinguished ability the object of the appointment would have been more effectually promoted. To the flattering compliment conferred upon me, I have no higher claim than a warm and fervid devotion to the institutions of our beloved country.

Though I wish not to affect an ostentatious humility, nor assume a feeling of indifference with regard to a distinction of which I have just cause to be proud, yet I cannot forget that for near sixty years, I have been preceded in the office I am now to fill, in almost every city, town, and village in the Union, by men, with whose names it is not barren encomium to associate the combined attractions of brilliant attainments and distinguished literary reputation.

While the recollection of this circumstance awakens in my mind a deep sense of my own inferiority, it greatly increases the disadvantages under which I labor. It cannot be expected that

anything now can be said on a subject, upon which so much has been written. I am also fully satisfied that there are but few, at this day, who have claims to originality in preparing Fourth of July orations. But I will not permit the recollection of those facts to depress or embarrass my efforts.

We have met to commemorate one of the most important events recorded on the pages of history. Although ancient history teems with those spirit stirring events, around which the imagination clings with unabated enthusiasms, and from which the mind draws the noblest lessons of political and moral virtue, and the most stimulating incentives to patriotism—although our minds dwell upon those kindling narratives that record the deeds of the heroes of olden time, by whom the oppressor was struck down, and the standard of a nation's liberty planted upon the blighted soil of despotism—although we linger with fond delight on those inspiring pictures of the historian's vivid pencil, in which we behold delineated the virtues of a Scipio, the unyielding patriotism of a Brutus, the stern justice of an Aristides, and the seductive accomplishments of a Pericles—although our imagination wings its flight to those consecrated spots where the ancients fought their battles and won their independence, where the patriot's blood was poured out as a willing offering to purchase the freedom of his country, yet, while with palpitating heart and excited feelings, we trace on the map the pass of Thermopylae and the plains of Marathon, we are ready to exclaim in the burning words of Byron:

'Where e'er we tread 'tis haunted holy ground!  
No earth of thine is lost in vulgar mould!  
But one vast realm of wonder spreads around,  
And all the muses' tales seem truly told,  
Till the sense aches with gazing to behold  
The scenes our earliest dreams have dwelt upon.'

Yet all of these dwindle in nought when compared with that chain of glorious events by which our liberties were torn from a tyrant's grasp, and our unrivalled constitution firmly established. It appears as if it was reserved for the American colonies to fill the splendid galaxy. It appears as if Deity himself had predestined that America should become a land of freedom, an asylum for

the oppressed; and that his omnipotent arm had directed our puritanical fathers to seek quiet and repose on the confines of this mighty continent, that they might cherish, foster and protect the most generous principles of liberty, and those free institutions, which convert general maxims into practical truths, and make them a part of the daily life of man. The first settlers of Plymouth left behind them those restraints which, in some degree, checks the free actions of Englishmen. They brought with them the jury and the right of representation; but left behind them the chains which the church and the court were endeavoring to fasten upon their countrymen. Feudal services, privileged orders, corporations and guilds, with other similar burdens upon industry, and insults upon honest merit, found no place in the western forest; but civilization, arts and letters, without the corruption and gross licentiousness which characterized the reigns of James I and Charles II, were brought hither in the train of liberty.

Those instinctive lessons of liberty and republican simplicity, which animated the bosoms of the Puritans of 1620, they taught to their children, and to their children's children, from one generation to another, until their rapid strides towards glory and renown attracted the attention of continental Europe, as well as of England, who fearing that her colonies, peopled by her sons and daughters, would rise the arbiters of justice, and eclipse her in her meridian splendor, and become the pride and admiration of the world, commenced her course of tyranny and oppression by enacting laws the most burdensome and oppressive for the government of the colonies, and quartering large bodies of mercenary troops in the principal towns, with a view of enforcing obedience to them. Bound to the mother country by all the ties of fraternal feeling that bind a child to its parent, the colonists implored the mother country to desist from its course of cruelty and oppression; but their prayers and petitions, and entreaties were answered only by repeated wrongs and injuries, and usurpations. Reluctant to war and with their native country, the land of their fathers, the colonists were about to lay down in passive obedience to her mandates, relinquish their rights and submit forever to the imperial dictation of a British king.

In 1765, on the day that the stamp act was to take effect, public notice was given to the friends of liberty in Portsmouth,

New Hampshire, to attend her funeral. A coffin neatly ornamented and inscribed with the word 'Liberty' was carried to the grave. The procession moved forward from the State House, at the slow and solemn tap of the drum, minute guns were fired, the church bells tolled the funeral knell, until the coffin arrived at the place of interment. Then an eulogium on the deceased was pronounced, which was scarcely ended before the coffin was taken up and examined, when it was discovered that some remains of life were left. The inscription was immediately altered to 'Liberty Revived.' The bells exchanged their melancholy for a joyful sound, and joy and satisfaction appeared in every countenance. Similar manifestations of feeling were exhibited in Boston, and other places, which had their influence in bringing about a repeal of the act. But its repeal was no recognition of the right of the colonies to resist, for at the same time a declaratory act was passed, asserting the right of Parliament to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. Accordingly, in 1767, the bill passed Parliament, imposing duties on glass, paper, paints, tea, etc., which gave rise to combinations of the colonists against the importation of any of those articles. These combinations caused a repeal of the act. In 1770, the duty on tea being alone continued, and in 1773, the famous bill brought forward and carried through Parliament by the British Ministry, allowing the West India Company a drawback on all teas exported to America, was passed with a view of inducing the Americans to submit to a moderate system of taxation. In consequence of the passage of this act large shipments were made. But in New York and Philadelphia the vessels were not permitted to land their cargoes. In Charleston it was put in stores, but not permitted to be offered for sale; and in Boston, where the British authorities refused to allow the vessels to return without having been entered, the tea was thrown overboard. This act of violence on the part of the citizens of Boston, was followed by the celebrated port bill, interdicting all intercourse with the town of Boston, and by a bill for entirely subverting the government of Massachusetts. In this crisis, the other colonies made common cause with Massachusetts, and on the fifth of September, 1774, a general congress met at Philadelphia, which declared all the acts of the British Parliament, which imposed taxes and other burdens upon the American colonists, violations of their colonial and chartered rights.



These proceedings, however, of the American congress, had no influence to change the policy of the British government; and general preparations were made in the colonies for resistance. Gun powder was manufactured, war-like stores were collected, and the citizens began to arm themselves, and make preparations for war—'War to the Knife'. Their motto was 'Sink or Swim, Live or Die, Survive or Perish with Our Country, is Our Fixed Unalterable Determination.' Massachusetts was declared to be in rebellion, and new restrictions were imposed upon the trade of the colonies.

A detachment of troops, sent from Boston to seize some provincial stores collected at Concord, fired upon the citizens who assembled to oppose them. Actual hostilities were then and there commenced. The battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, the capture of several posts, and unsuccessful expedition against Canada and the appointment of a Commander-in-chief of the American army, were among the acts that preceded the Declaration of Independence.

That memorable day, the fourth of July, 1776, can never be effaced from the memory of a true American, as long as the sun performs his diurnal revolutions, or a star endures in the firmament. They will ever venerate the cause for which a Warren and a Montgomery bled and died. That epoch can never be forgotten, when an Adams, a Henry, a Sherman, a Franklin and a Jefferson, roused their countrymen to a fearless defense of their privileges, and protected the ark of their liberties in the hour of peril and commotion. 'These were the times,' says an accomplished statesman, 'when the Senate run with eloquence, proclaiming the wrongs, advocating the rights and demanding the redress of millions; when one country building a new character upon the genius of her sons, not raised upon the spoils of a sordid commerce, or the trophies of a distinctive conquest, rose over an admiring world, the arbiters of justice, the emporium of humanity.' Yes, it was on that day, the anniversary of which we are now commemorating, that the American colonies were declared free, sovereign and independent states.

Fifty-nine years ago this day the 'North American Confederate Union' took her seat among the nations of the earth, and promulgated to the world the charter of her rights, which is replete with doctrines vital to the liberties of mankind, and destined to

stand a beacon to the friends of liberty, throughout the world, as long as the language in which it is written shall be remembered. It would be an unnecessary task for me to detail all of the events that transpired during a period of eight years from the commencement of the war, to the ratification of peace, in 1783. All acknowledge the justice of our cause—all acknowledge the bravery of our warriors who fought and bled for their country's liberty—all acknowledge the transcendent virtues of their Commander-in-chief George Washington—all read with breathless anxiety and exultation his God-like career. His memorials are beyond the reach of fortune and of time; his name will live in the recollection of his countrymen, until this mighty country shall cease to exist, whose liberties his unsullied patriotism nurtured into existence, and whose advancing glory is the most elegant epitaph that could be inscribed upon his tomb. Whether at the head of his countrymen, leading them on to battle and to victory, or in the councils of the nation, aiding, assisting or directing the machinery of government; we find him equal to every station and prepared for every emergency.

In mourning the loss of our heroes and statesmen, our minds involuntarily run back to review the career of those great men, who are now gathered home to their fathers; but who at the most spirit-stirring period of our country's history shed a blaze of glory around, which neither time nor circumstances can eradicate. Their bright examples will stand to the latest time a monument of exalted worth. The last of that band of statesmen who 'pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors,' in defense of the liberties of their country, has been summoned to the regions of bliss. Yes, the dauntless Carroll, of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of American Independence is no more.

The last surviving Major General of the American Revolution, too, has gone to join the companions of his youth. Yes, on the last anniversary of our nation's jubilee, while the wide mouthed cannon was announcing the approach of the 58th anniversary of American Independence, a solemn gloom spread over our village, which pervaded every bosom. The herald of the press had just announced the death of Gilbert Motier Lafayette, the companion of Washington, the friend of liberty. Although a Frenchman by

birth, we claimed him as an American citizen; although he died in France, his remains are buried beneath American soil.

In this brief summary it would be an unpardonable omission were I not to mention Poland; the land of Frederick Kosciusko, the last Generalissimo of the republic of Poland, and Joseph Pulaski, who endeavored in vain to restore the independence of his country, both of whom came to the United States in time of her greatest need, and proffered their services in defense of liberty, and fought and bled by the side of Washington. Brave and generous Poland, may you yet take your seat among the republics of modern times, may the illustrious examples of your sons and your daughters, who fought on the walls of Warsaw, inspire you with confidence, and nerve your arm in defense of that liberty for which they fought and bled and died. Yes, brave and noble Poland, America sympathizes with you in your misfortunes, and while sceptred monarchs would bind you down with chains of despotism, while they would stigmatize your chivalrous sons and daughters, as traitors and rebels, who fought and bled for freedom, their memory will live green in the mind of every Pole. Yes, that chaplet which you entwined around their brows, moistened as it is by the tears of the friends of liberty, and the tears of a grateful country throughout the world, will re-animate and bloom an evergreen upon their graves. But let us turn from the records of the past, and take a view of the present history of our country.

Fifty-nine years ago this day the American people through their representatives in congress assembled, declared that man was capable of self-government. What stronger evidence can be given of the correctness of that declaration, than the unparalleled prosperity of the American republic. At peace with all the world, and on the most friendly terms with every nation—prosperous and happy at home, and respected abroad. Although a slight interruption in our diplomatic relations with France at this moment exists, we have every reason to believe that the difficulties existing between the two nations will be soon adjusted on terms entirely satisfactory to the United States. Within the short space of 59 years, its population has increased from three to sixteen millions, and the number of states from thirteen to twenty-four. The country that we now inhabit, the very ground upon which this

edifice, dedicated to the service of the living God, is erected, was the forest home of the Red man, where neither civilization, arts, sciences nor industry had shed their benign influence, where nothing was heard but the howling of beasts of prey, and the furious yell of the savage warrior. But the rays of the light of liberty have dispelled the clouds of savage ignorance and barbarity, to which has succeeded the heart-cheering influence of enlightened and civilized society. The borders of the beautiful river whose banks we inhabit, was then the border of an impenetrable forest. Its banks are now studded by large cities, extensive towns and flourishing villages. It is the abode of an extensive population, actively engaged in the various pursuits and avocations that pertain to the life of man.

Are there any so skeptical as to believe that a government so free, so prosperous and happy as ours, will decay and crumble into ruins? If there are, their fears will be removed, if they will but swear upon the altar of their country's liberty eternal fidelity to her free institutions. Are there any who doubt the bravery of her citizen soldiers or their readiness to defend their rights? If there are, I would point them to Bunker Hill, Yorktown, Monmouth, Bridgewater and Saratoga. Do they yet doubt, I would point them to Plattsburgh, Queenstown, Bladensburgh and New Orleans. Do they doubt our skill in diplomacy. I would point them to a Jay, a Franklin and a Plackney. Do they yet doubt, I would point them to an Adams, a Hamilton and a Monroe, who have stood forth the champions of their country's rights, with a zeal which knew neither abatement nor fatigue, but which gathered strength from time, and derived new activity from constant exercise. But those great men, the founders of the republic, have now passed from the theater of their earthly career. Their voices can no longer be heard in the capitol, discoursing on the policy of nations, or in the private circle, teaching their countrymen by their examples. Those institutions nurtured into existence by them, have been bequeathed to us. It is then our duty to foster, cherish and protect them, that we may hand them down to posterity as we received them, unimpaired by the lapse of time, or unaltered by the change of circumstances.

Stand forward in defence of the Union, whether it be assailed by internal or by foreign enemies—show to the world as you did

on a recent occasion, that you will not permit its stability to be shaken by internal, much less by foreign enemies. Although a portentous cloud big with destiny, hung over a part of our hemisphere, threatening destruction to our free institutions, and a dissolution of the Union of the states. When the tocsin was sounded from your capitol, all true friends of the Union and of the rights of the states simultaneously exclaimed from one end of the Union to the other, in the emphatic language of a distinguished senator—‘God forbid that I should stop to inquire whom the people have chosen to preside over the destinies of our country, I will march to the rescue’. Yes, I beseech you in the name of heaven—I beseech you in the name of every thing that is dear to freemen, to guard, protect and preserve the Union; for upon its stability hang the hopes of the friends of liberty, in every clime—guard it as the palladium of your liberties—teach its value and the necessity of its preservation to your children, and to your children’s children, unto the latest time—let Union be the first lisp of infancy—let it be the last tremulous accent of age—God save the Union.”









INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

VOL. 8

NO. 2

# INDIANA'S FIRST WAR

TRANSLATED

BY

CAROLINE and ELEANOR DUNN

Wm. B. Burford, Printer, Indianapolis.

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## INTRODUCTORY

The first war in which the white settlers of Indiana were called to take part was that between the French and the Chickasaw Indians, in 1736. It was not a great war; but, in its disastrous results, it cost Indiana a larger percentage of its population than any war that has followed it. The accounts of it in Indiana histories are rather fragmentary; and it is the object of this publication to make accessible to the public the more important of the original official reports concerning it, which have been preserved in the National Archives at Paris for nearly two centuries.

Readers who desire further information on the subject will find the most satisfactory general history of the war, its causes and results in Gayarre's History of Louisiana, in the sixth lecture of the first volume. He gives several interesting anecdotes of persons engaged in the war, notably of Grondel, of the Swiss company, who subsequently became a French General.

The Society is under obligations to the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution, for obtaining copies of the documents herein presented, from the originals at Paris.

## RECIT FAIT PAR BIENVILLE DE SON EXPEDITION CONTRE LES CHICKASAWS\*

Louisianne Le 28 Juin, 1736.

Le Depart du Vaisseau du Roy qui doit appareiller de la Balize dans quatre Jours me Laisse trop peu de temps pour pouvoir Rendre a Votre Gra(n)deur Un Compte Bien détaillé des evenements de la Campagne des Tchikachas, d'ou je rapporte d'ailleurs Une Sante si dérangée par les peines & les fatigues que J'ay essuyées dans ce Voyage que Je suis incapable de L'application que demande ce détail.

Je me contenteray donc pour ne pas Laisser ignorer a M'gneur Les principales Circonstances de mon Entreprise de luy envoyer un Extrait du Journal que J'ay tenu depuis que Je L'ay Progettée Si le succès n'a pas repondu aux mesures que J'avois prises pour en assurer la reussite, Je me flatte que M'gneur n'en sera point surpris quand il sera instruit des Contretemps que J'ai eû à Essuyer: Contretemps dont il etoit impossible d'eviter L'Effet, puisqu'il n'avoit pas été possible de les prévoir, et que je manquois des moyens d'y Remédier quand Je Les Aurois Prevus.

Le Coup frappé sur le Sr. Ducoder par les Tchicachas m'ayant oté tous Les moyens de Finir La Guerre par un accommodement, et La Crainte de Voir Les Tchaktas Continuellement sollicités par les anglois faire le leur, me determinerent a Recourir aux Armes Comme au Seul moyen qui me Restat pour Sortir de Cette affaire honorablement. Pour y parvenir Je proposay mon dessein aux Chaktas Lorsqu'ils Vinrent me Voir a la Mo-

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\* From Paris, National Archives, Colonies, F 3 24, folios 264-273.

## ACCOUNT MADE BY BIENVILLE OF HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CHICKASAWS\*

Louisiana, June 28, 1736.

The departure of the King's ship, which ought to set sail from Balize within four days, leaves me too little time to be able to give your Highness a fully detailed account of the events of the campaign against the Chickasaws, in addition to which my health is so undermined by the hardships and the fatigue that I have experienced in this undertaking that I am not capable of the attention that this detail demands.

I shall content myself then, in order not to leave Monseigneur ignorant of the principal circumstances of my enterprise, by sending him an extract from a journal which I have kept since I undertook it. If success did not come in response to the measures that I had taken to assure it, I flatter myself that Monseigneur will not be at all surprised when he learns of misfortunes that I have had to endure—misfortunes, of which it was impossible to escape the effect, since it had not been possible to foresee them, and since I lacked the means of remedying them even if I had perceived them.

The blow struck against M. Ducoder by the Chickasaws having deprived me of all the means of concluding the war by agreement, and the fear of seeing the Choctaws continually solicited by the English to act with them, determined me to return to arms, as the only way which remained to me of coming out of this affair honorably. In order to succeed in this I proposed my idea to the Choctaws when they came to see me at Mobile, and when

bile, & lorsqu'ils M'eurent donné parole de me seconder dans cette Expédition, Je depechay au mois de decembre Une pyroque a M. D'artaguiette pour le porter ordre de Rassembler toutes les forces des Illinois et de les conduire aux Tchikachas a la fin de Mars avec de Grosses provisions de Vivres. Je Comptois alors m'y Rendre Vers ce temps là mais La Nécessité ou Je me suis trouvé d'attendre L'arrivée du Vaisseau du Roy pour les Salaisons dont nous etions dépourvus et pour les mortiers que j'avois demandé me fit perdre le mois de fevrier tout entier. Le Vaisseau n'arriva qu'a La fin de Ce mois, et N'apporta point de mortiers je Sentis Combien la negligence qu'on a eû à Rochefort a Cet Egard Seroit préjudiciable a la Réussite de mon entreprise, mais je ne pouvois plus m'en dédire, Sans Courir Risque de perdre la Confiance de Tchactas Cependant J'appris à la Mobille que Les préparatifs dont J'etois convenu avec M. De Salmon avant mon depart de la N'elle Orleans Languissoient et que les Voitures que J'avois demandées pour le mois d'octobre N'avoient point été fournies par les Entrepreneurs le 15 de Janvier. Je partis Sur le Champ pour la Capitale malgré la rigueur de la Saison, Je dépechay en y arrivant Un Second Courrier à M. D'Artaguiette pour luy ordonner de Retarder Son départ des Illinois Jusqu'a la fin d'avril.

Cependant Je fis travailler avec plus de Vivacité aux préparatifs et Lorsque Je les Vis au point ou Je Les Voulois, je tiray des Garnisons des Natchitoches et de la balise tout ce que J'en Pouvois tirer d'officiers et de Soldats sans trop Degarnir ces postes. Je formay une compagnie de Volontaires de jeunes gens et des Voyageurs qui se tronverent alors a La Nouvelle Orleans

they had given me a promise to support me in this expedition, I dispatched, in the month of December, a pirogue to M. D'Artaguiette to carry him an order to assemble all the forces of the Illinois, and to lead them against the Chickasaws at the end of March, with large provisions of food. I expected then to arrive there myself at that time but the necessity I found of awaiting the arrival of the King's ship for the salt provisions, of which we were in want, and for the artillery that I had ordered, made me lose the entire month of February. The ship did not arrive until the end of this month, and did not bring any guns. I felt very much that the negligence that they had at Rochefort in this respect would be detrimental to the success of my enterprise, but I was no longer able to retract, without running the risk of losing the confidence of the Choctaws. Meanwhile I learned at Mobile that the preparations upon which I had agreed with M. DeSalmon before my departure from New Orleans were languishing and that the vehicles which I had ordered for the month of October had not been furnished by the backers of the enterprise by the fifteenth of January. I set out overland for the capital in spite of the severity of the weather. On arriving there I sent a second messenger to M. D'Artaguiette to order him to retard his departure from the Illinois country until the end of April.

Meanwhile I had preparations made with more activity and when I saw they were at the point where I wished them, I took from the garrison of the Natchitoches and from Balise all the officers and soldiers that I could without stripping these posts too much. I formed a company of volunteers of young men and voyageurs who were then at New Orleans, and another company of militia of citi-



et une autre de milice des bourgeois qui N'étoient point mariés Je les fis partir pour la Mobille J'y fis de Meme défiler les troupes à mesure que les Voitures Etoient pretes, Je me mis Enfin en Routte Le 4 de Mars, après avoir envoyé par La bas du fleuve Les grands batx. chargés de Vivres et d'Ustencilles, et ne laissay après moy que 4 Compagnies Francoises que Jordonnay à M. De Noyan de conduire à la Mobile des que Le Reste des Voitures seroit finy. Ces troupes contrariees par les Vents n'arriverent que Le 22, et le 28 arriva un grande Bateau chargé de Ris party avant moy de la Nouvelle Orléans qui par Le mauvais temps avoit perdu L moitié de Sa Cargaison Ce Contretems M'obligea a faire faire plus de Biscuit pour Remplacer ce Ris mais Comme Ce Remplacement auriot Beaucoup Retardé mon départ de la Mobille, J'envoyay des Boulangers a notre Nouvel Etablissement de Tombekbé, par les Tchactas, & J'ecrivis à M. De Lusser qui y Commandoit de faire des fours & employer en Biscuit toutes Les farines qui Lui Restoient. Enfin partis De La Mobille Le premier avril nous arrivames Le 23. a Tombekbé M'gneur aura Vû dans la Lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur de luy ecrire de la en datte du 2 May combien j'aurois été Retardé par Les Courants et par des pluyes si fréquentes que je n'avois guaranty mes Vivies que par miracle. Je fus même obligé en arrivant de faire travailler aux fours, parce que la terre du pays trop Grasse se fendante au feu. M. De Lusser après bien des Epreuves n'en avoit qu'un qui fut en bon Etat. nous en fimes encore trois autres en melant La terre avec de la marne et du Sable, mais tout Cela ne put que fournir du pain frais pendant notre séjour et en donner pour trois jours en partant.

En attendant L'arrivée des Chefs Tchactas qui devoient

zens who were not married. I had them set out for Mobile. I likewise made the troops leave as fast as the wagons were ready. I finally set out on the way the fourth of March after having sent by way of the lower branch of the river, large boats loaded with provisions and utensils and left after me only four companies of Frenchmen that I had commanded Monsieur De Noyan to lead to Mobile as soon as the rest of the wagons had gone. These troops opposed by the winds did not arrive until the twenty-second and on the twenty-eighth there arrived a large boat loaded with rice which had left New Orleans before me and which on account of bad weather had lost half of its cargo. These mishaps obliged me to have more biscuits made in order to replace this rice, but as this replacement would have greatly retarded my departure, from Mobile, I sent some bakers to our new establishment of Tombekbé (Tombigbee) through the Choctaw country, and I wrote to M. De Lusser to command them to make ovens and use for biscuits all the flour which remained to them. At last, having left Mobile the first of April we arrived at Tombekbé on the twenty-third. Monseigneur will have seen in the letter that I had the honor of writing to him from there on the second of May, how much I had been delayed by the current and by the rains, so frequent that I saved by provisions only by a miracle. I was also obliged on my arrival to attend carefully to the ovens, lest the very grassy land of the country should break out into flames. M. De Lusser after many attempts had only one which was in a good condition. We made three others by mixing the earth with clay and sand, but all this could only furnish fresh bread during our sojourn and give some for three days of our departure.

me Venir Joindre là je fis la Revue des troupes dont L'Etat est cy joint. J'en tiray la Garnison pour Le poste et La Compagnie de Grenadiers qui devoit être Commandée par le Sieur D'Autrive Le plus ancien des Capitaines. Je formay aussy une Compagnie de 45 negres armés a qui je donnay pour Officiers des négres Libres. Le 26 avril Les premiers Chefs Tchactas arriverent Le soir et de ce nombre fut Alibamon Mingo. Le Lendemain Matin je Les Recus Ils commencerent tous leurs harangues par de grandes protestations d'attachement pour Les François et les finirent toutes par me demander des munitions du Vermillon et des Vivres. Je leur Repondis sur ce dernier article que dès le temps ou je les avois avertis que J'allois en Guerre Je leur avois fait dire aussy que Ceux qui Voudroient me Suivre apportassent des Vivres pour eux parce que Je n'en pouvois porter que pour Les François, mais que je leur ferois donner de la poudre des balles et du Vermillon dequoy ils parurent Contents.

J'appris Le même jour par Le Sr. De Léry qui arrivoit des Chactas que quelques Villages qui S'étoient mis en chemin S'en étoient Retournés Chez eux, Sur un bruit qui Couroit dans la Nation, que Les François qui devoient descendre d'en haut devoient aussy faire la paix avec les Tchikachas, et que notre dessein étoit de frapper tous ensemble sur Les Tchaktas qui nous auroient suivy je fis Repartir sur le Champ le Sr. De Léry pour Les desabuser & il fut suivis par quelques uns de Ceux qui étoient déjà arrivés.

Le 28 Le Grand chef de la nation parût avec plusieurs autres du nombre desquels étoit le Soulier Rouge qui parla dans Les mêmes termes d'affection que Ceux qui

While awaiting for the arrival of the Choctaw Chiefs, who should have come to join me there, I reviewed the troops. I took from them, the garrison for the post and the company of grenadiers who ought to have been under the command of *Sieur D'Autrive* the oldest of the captains. I also formed a company of forty-five armed negroes to whom I gave, as officers, free negroes. On the twenty-sixth of April, in the evening, the first Choctaw chiefs arrived and among this number was *Alibamon Mingo*. The next morning I received them. They began all their speeches by great protestations of their affection for the French, and finished them all by asking me for ammunition, vermilion and provisions. I replied to them, concerning this last article, that at the time when I warned them that I was going to war, I had had them told also, that those who wished to follow me must bring provisions for themselves because I could carry only those for the French; but I told them that I would bring them powder, bullets and vermilion, at which they seemed content.

I learned the same day through *Sieur DeLéry*, who arrived from country of the Choctaws, that some villages which had set out on the way had returned to their homes, because of a rumor which went out among their nation, that the French were making peace with the Chickasaws, and that our plan was to strike, at the same time, all the Choctaws who would have followed us. I made *Sieur DeLéry* set out across country to undeceive them and he was followed by some of those who had already arrived.

On the twenty-eighth, the great chief of the nation appeared with several others, among whom was *Soulier*

avoient déjà harrangué. Je savois cependant par des Lettres des Natchés que depuis mon départ de La N'elle Orleans il avoit brulé sous L Canon du fort Les Cabanes des offogoulas qui S'y etoient Réfugiés, et que Le Sr. de Ste. Therese Resté Commandt. a ce poste avoit été obligé de faire tirer un Coup de Canon qui l'avoit fait Retirer, mais Comme il n'en parla point, Je Voulus Lignorer aussy ne jugeant pas le tems propre a lui faire des Reproches.

Le Grand Chef parla à la fin de sa harangue du bruit qui couroit dans sa nation de notre prétendu complot contre Elle, et ajouta qu'un de leurs partis avoit vu du Coté du nord un Grand Chemin françois et que C'etoit Les Gens d' En haut qui etoient allé aux Tchikachas. Je luy exposay La dessus Les ordres qu'avoit eû M. D'arttaguette de descendre avec les nations du nord pour me joindre et frapper Ensemble sur nos Ennemis, et que si C'etoit luy qui avoit fait Ce Grand Chemin, il n'avoit apparemment pas Recu un Courrier que je luy avois depêché pour le faire Retarder, mais qu'en cas qu'il arriva La premier nous en aurions des nouvelles. Le Grand Chef parnt Rassuré et je lui fis comme a tous Ceux qui me parlerent ce jour la d'avoir des Vivres La Reponse que J'avois faite aux antres le jour précédent. Je finis la sceance par leur faire dire que quand le reste des chefs seroit arrivé nous Confererions tous ensemble sur La Route que nous aurions a tenir et sur le Lieu d'un Rendes Vous pour tous les Guerriers.

Le même jour je fis tracer le fort du Poste et quoy qu'il pluè presque continuellement je fis travailler a decharger quelques gros Batteaux Chargés de Vivres pour les renvoyer a la Mobille Craignant de ne pas



Rouge (Red Shoe) who spoke in the same terms of affection as those who had already spoken. I knew however, by the letters from the Natchez that since my departure from New Orleans he had burned, under the cannon of the fort, the cabins of the Offogoulas who were refugees there, and that Sieur de Sainte Therese, remaining commander at this post, had been obliged to fire the cannon which had made him retire; but as he said nothing of this, I preferred to ignore it also, not judging the time appropriate for reproaching him.

The great chief spoke at the end of his speech of the rumor which had been circulated in the nation, of our pretended plot against it, and added that one of their men departing, had seen from the direction of the North, a great French path, and that it was the people from above who were going against the Chickasaws. I told him the orders that M. D'Artaguiette had had to descend with the nations of the North in order to join me and to attack our enemies together, that it was he who had made this great path, and that he had apparently not received a messenger that I had sent to him to make him hold back, but in case that he arrived first we would have news of it. The great chief seemed reassured, and I gave him as I did all those who spoke with me on that day asking for provisions, the reply that I had made on the preceding day. I finished the session by saying to them that when the rest of the chiefs should have arrived, we would all confer together concerning the route that we would take and on the place for a rendezvous for all the warriors.

On the same day I laid out the fort of the post and although it rained almost continually, I worked to unload

trouver assés d'eau pour eux en descendant La Riviere etoit Cependent haute, mais je Savoie qu'a L'Endroit du portage, Il ne falloit que quelques jours de beau temps pour la mettre presque a Sec.

Le 29e. Le Chef des Tchicachas (Tchactas?) arriva avec le Reste des chefs excepté deux ou trois qui Etant malades envoyerent des Guerriers a leurs places, ils harrangerent dans Les mêmes termes que Les autres, et je les Remis aussy a la Conference Generale je leurs fit en attendant distribuer a tous de la poudre des balles et du Vermillon.

Le 30. J assemblai Le Conseil de Guerre et nous y jugeames a mort un sergent et un soldat de la Compagnie de Lusser. Coupables de conspiration contre la vie des officiers du Poste et de complot de désertion. leur proces qui avoit été instruit les jours pécédents par le Ch. de Noyan Major sera envoyé a M'gneur par la premiere occasion. Les Suisses tinrent aussy Conseil et Condamnerent deux de leurs Soldats Complices du Sergent.

Le 1er de May je Conferay avec les Chefs assemblés et ils convinrent de se Rendre avec leurs Guerriers dans 14 jours a Oetibia petite Riviere qui fait la frontiere des Tchactas et des Tchikachas a 40 Liéues au dessus de Tombekbé, et quand nous y serions ils iroient avec un party de François par terre pour couvrir notre marche dans la Rivierre des Tchikachas. Outre Cela je fis Rester deux Guerriers pour Embarquer avec moy et les leur depecher quand je serois prêt d'Oetibia si j'y arrivois plutôt qu'eux. le soir meme Presque tous ces Chefs Reprirent le Chemin de leurs Villages.

Le 2e. on acheva de decharger les Gros Bateaux dont les pluyes avoient interrompu le travail, et je fis dis-

some large boats loaded with provisions in order to send them back to Mobile, fearing that I would not find enough water for them in descending. The river was high at this time, but I knew that at the place of portage it would take only a few days of good weather to make it nearly dry.

On the twenty-ninth the chief of the Chickasaws (Choctaws) arrived with the rest of the chiefs except two or three who were ill and sent warriors in their places, they spoke in the same terms as the others and I referred them also to the general conference. I made distribution to them, while waiting, of powder, bullets and vermilion.

On the thirtieth, I assembled the Council of War, and we condemned to death a sergeant and a soldier of Lusser's company who were guilty of conspiring against the lives of the officers of the post, and a plot for desertion. Their trial which had been carried on during the preceding days by Ch. De Noyan Major, will be sent to Monseigneur on the first occasion. The Swiss Company also held a council and condemned two of their soldiers, accomplices of the sergeant.

On the first of May I conferred with the assembled chiefs and they agreed to meet with their warriors in fourteen days at Oetibia, a little river at the frontier of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, forty leagues above Tombekbé, and when we should be there, they would go with a party of Frenchman over land in order to conceal our movement down the river of the Chickasaws. Besides this, I had two warriors remain to embark with me and to dispatch them when I should be near Oetibia if I arrived there sooner than they. On the same night nearly all the chiefs again took the way to their villages.

tribuer des vivres a tout Le monde pour partir Le Lendemain.

Le 3e. nous partimes de Tombekbé et trouvant Les Courants moins forts qu'auparavant, je mis a terre Le 9e. un des deux Sauvages que J'avois dans mon Bateau, pour qu'il fut dire aux Tchaktas que je Comptois me Rendre dans Cinq jours a Oetibia où en Effet jarrivay Le 14e. J'y passai deux jours a faire Secher mes Vivres sans avoir nouvelle des Tchactas quoyque j'envoyasse chaque matin Le second sauvage de mon Bateau a la Decouverte.

Le 17e. Mon premier Courrier arriva avec deux Tchactas et une Lettre du Sr. De Léry par où j'appris qu'il étoit en chemin avec une Grande Partie des Chefs et Guerriers, mais que la pluye qu'ils avoient eûs pendant 9 jours de Suitte les avoit Retardés et qu'ils avoient été sur le point de Relacher. Le Sr. De Léry arriva Cependant Luy même Le Lendemain avec le chef des Epitougoulas qui me dit qu'il avoit Laissé les premiers partis sur les Bords d'Oetibia où les derniers se Rendraient un jour après je pris la dessus La party de Continuer ma Route dès le Lendemain matin Laissant un interprete avec deux pyrogues pour faire Traverser Oetibia aux Tchaktas et outre Cela je donnay ordre à la Compagnie des Volontaires Commandée par M. Le Sueur de Rester pour Marcher par terre avec eux Jusqu'a L'endroit ou nous devons débarquer ainsy que nous en etions Convenus. Le même soir nous arrivâmes à L'ancien Portage où Les Volontaires arriverent aussitot que nous amenant avec eux la plus part des Chefs et Guerriers, et Le 22e. nous Les trouvames tous au nouveau portage ou nous de'barquames environ à 9 Lieues des Villages Tchicachas.

On the second, they succeeded in unloading the large boats, the work of which, the rain had interrupted, and I had them distribute provisions to every body in order to leave the next day.

On the third we left Tombekbé and finding the current less strong than formerly, I put on land on the ninth one of the Indians that I had in my boat, in order that he should tell the Choctaws that I intended to reach Oetibia in five days, where in fact I arrived on the fourteenth. I passed two days there drying my provisions without having news of the Choctaws although I sent each morning, the second Indian from my boat to find out about it.

On the seventeenth my first messenger arrived with two Choctaws and a letter from *Sieur De Léry* from which I learned that he was on his way with a large party of chiefs and warriors, but that the rain which they had had for nine days in succession, had retarded them and that they had been on the point of giving up. The *Sieur De Léry* himself arrived however on the next day with the chief of the *Epitougoulas* who told me that he had left the first who had set out on the banks of the *Oetibia* where the last joined them on the day after. I took my departure to continue on my way on the next morning leaving an interpreter with two boats to cross the *Oetibia* to the Choctaws and besides this I gave orders to the company of volunteers commanded by *Monsieur Le Sueur* to remain in order to march by land with those as far as the place where we should disembark, so that we would meet there. On that same evening we arrived at the old portage where the volunteers arrived as soon as we did, bringing with them the greater part of the chiefs and warriors, and on the twenty-second we found all at the



Le 23e. à la pointe du jour je fis couper un nombre de pieux et tracer un petit fort que fut Elevé aussytost pour la deffense de nos Voitures Je Tiray des Compagnies une Garnison De 20 hommes pour y Rester sous le Commandement du Sr. Vanderek, avec Le Garde Magasin Les Patrons des Bateaux et quelques malades, jeus le temps de Remarquer, en Voyant tous les Chacktas Rassemblés, qu'ils n'étoient pas venus en si grand nombre, qu'ils avoient dit et qu'ils n'étoient guerres que six cent hommes jeus beaucoup de peine a en trouver une certaine quantité qui Voulussent porter en Les payant, des sacs de poudre et de Balles que Les Negres no pouvoient prendre etant deja chargés d'autres Chôses.

Le 24e. après avoir fait prendre des Vivres Pour 12 jours je partis du portage après midy et fus Camper Le Soir a 2 Lieuès de la les pluyes dont j'avois tant été incommodé Sur la riviere ne me quitterent point a terre, a peine etions nous Campés que nous essayames un Violent Orage qui Reprit plusieurs fois dans la nuit et qui nous fit tout apprehender pour nos munitions et nos Vivres, nous fimes Cependant ensorte qu'elles ne furent pas mouillées.

Le 25. nous eumes a passer dans L'Espace de 5 petites Lieues trois Ravines profondes ou nous eumes de L'eau jusqu'a la Ceinture Comme Les Bords en étoient couverts de Canes fort Epaisses, j'avois envoyé devant à la Decouverte nous ne Vimes plus après Cela qu'un Pays le plus beau du monde, et nous Campames sur le Bord d'une prairie à 2 Lieues des Villages.

Une heure auparavant le Soulier Rouge m'étoit Venu dire qu'il alloit à la decouverte avec 4 de ses Gens et Comme je Craignois qu'il ne me fit quelque faux Rapport,

new portage where we disembarked about nine leagues from the Chickasaw villages.

On the twenty-third at the break of day I cut a number of posts and laid out a little fort which was built also as a defense for our boats. I took a garrison of twenty men from the companies to remain there under the command of *Sieur Vanderek*, with the guard of the store house, the captains of the boats, and some who were sick. I had the opportunity to notice, while seeing all the *Choctaws* re-assemble that they had not come in such a large number as they had said, and that they had only six hundred warriors. I had a great deal of difficulty in finding a certain number who were willing, on paying them, to carry sacks of powder and bullets which the negroes could not take, being already loaded with other things.

On the twenty-fourth after having provisions for twelve days taken, I set out from the portage in the afternoon and made camp in the evening at two leagues from there. The rains by which I had been so inconvenienced on the river did not leave me on land, scarcely had we camped when we underwent a violent thunder storm which recurred several times during the night and which made me apprehensive for our ammunition and our provisions. We managed however so that they were not wet.

On the twenty-fifth we had to pass, in the distance of five short leagues, three deep ravines where there was water up to our waists, as the edges of these were thickly covered with canes. I had sent ahead a scout, but we saw only one of the most beautiful countries in the world, and we camped on the edge of a prairie at two leagues from the villages. An hour before *Soulier Rouge* had

je l'avois fait Consentir à prendre avec luy les Sieurs De Léry et Montbrun qui y furent. Les Tchaktas ne les voyant point Revenir a la nuit & ayant entendu tirer quelques coups de fusils, retomberent dans Leurs soupçons ils disoient entre eux que je n'avois envoyé De Léry avec le Soulier Rouge que pour faire Casser la tête a Celuy cy et faire porter par L'autre quelques Lettres aux Tchicachas pour leur donner avis de mon arrivée et Les Faire Venir Sur eux. Ces murmures tous mal fondés qu'ils étoient alloient au point de Les faire Relacher tous lorsque Les decouvreurs parurent au point du jour ils me dirent qu'ils avoient été attaqués par un party de 15 hommes qui avoit tiré sur eux d'assés loin et qu'ainssy nous etions nous memes decouverts. Les Tchactas tranquilisés par le Retour du Soulier Rouge Se Remirent en marche avec nous a la premiere halte le Grand Chef me Vint demander quel Village je Voulois attaquer D'abord. Je luy Repondis que J'avois ordre du Roy d'aller d'abord aux Natchez Comme aux Autheurs de la Guerre, il me Representa la dessus qu'il auroit fort souhaitté que J'attaquasse d'abord Tchioukafalaya,<sup>1</sup> que Ce Village qui étoit Le premier sur notre Chemin Et le plus Voisin des Tchaktas, leur faisoit plus de mal què tous Les autres que C'etoit La quil avoit perdu Son Fils et Son oncle et qu'enfin C'etoit La aussy que nous trouverions Un plus Gros amas de Vivres Sans Les quelles ils ne Pouvoient plus nous suivre ayant Consommé tout ce qu'ils en avoient apporté malgré L'empressement des autres Chefs a appuyer Ce sentiment là je persistay a vouloir aller aux Natchez ne doutant presque pas que les Tchaktas ne S'en Retournassent quand J'aurois pris

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1. Chukafalaya, as it is commonly written in English, was a Chickasaw settlement, including several villages, covering a region

come to me to say that he would go to reconnoitre with four of his people, and as I feared lest he should give me a false report, I made him consent to take with him *Sieur De Léry* and *Sieur De Montbrun* who were there. The *Choctaws*, not seeing them return at night, and having heard several pistol shots, became suspicious again. They said among themselves that I had sent *De Léry* with *Soulier Rouge* only to break his head, and to make the other carry some letters to the *Chickasaws* in order to give them word of my arrival and to make them come against them. These murmurs, unfounded as they were, circulated to the extent of making them ready to give up everything. When the scouts appeared at break of day, they told me that they had been attacked by a party of 15 men who had fired on them from some distance and that thus we ourselves were discovered. The *Choctaws* calmed by the return of *Soulier Rouge* set out again on the march with us. At the first halt the great chief came to ask me what village I wished to attack first. I replied to him that I had orders from the king to first go against the *Natchez* Indians as they were the authors of the war. He told me furthermore that he had been very desirous that I attack *Chukafalaya*<sup>1</sup> first, that this village which was the first on our route and the nearest to the *Choctaws*, made more trouble than all the others; that it was there that he had lost his son and his uncle, and finally, that it was there also, that we would find a larger supply of provisions, without which, they would no longer be able to follow us, having consumed all that which they had brought. In spite of the eagerness of the other chiefs to support that proposal, I persisted in

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about 4 miles long and 1 mile wide, in either Pontotoc or Dallas County, Mississippi.

ce Village, leur Coutume etant de fuir aussytot qu'ils ont fait Coup. Sur La parole que je leur donnay que les Natchez Une fois deffaits Je Reviendrais a Tchiouka-falaya. Ils parurent Contents. mais Je Connus Bientot qu'ils n'avoient Rien moins qu'abandonné leur dessein leurs Guides après nous avoir fait tourner et retourner dans Le Bois Comme pour nous Conduire à la Grande prairie où est Le Gros des Villages Tchikachas et Natchez, nous menerent Enfin a Une prairie qui peut avoir une lieue de tour, au mileiu de Laquelle nous Vimes trois Petits Villages situés triangulairement Sur la Crête d'un Coteau, au bas duquel couloit Un Ruisseau presque a Sec. Cette petite prairie N'est Eloignée de La grande que d une Lieue et en est Separée par Un bois, les Tchaktas me Vinrent dire que nous ne trouverions point d'Eau plus Loin, et je fis defiler Le Long du Petit Bois qui termine La prairie pour gagner Une petite hauteur Sur laquelle Je fis faire halte pour manger il etoit alors plus de midy Cependant Les Tchaktas qui Vouloient a quelques prix que ce fut engager Une action avec ces premiers Villages, y furent escarmoucher des que nous fumes Entrés dans La prairie a fin d'attirer Sur nous le feu de L'Ennemy, ce qui leur Reussit de maniere que la plupart des officiers se joignirent aux Chefs Tchactas pour demander qu'on attaquat Ces Villages dans lesquels ils ne Croyient pas qu'on dus trouver grande Resistance, Pressé de tous Côtes de ne pas Laisser ces forts derriere nous et ne pouvant pour ainsy dire le faire Sans Rebuter Les Tchaktas, Je fis assembler Les Chefs aux quels Je fis promettre de nouveau qu'ils me Suivroient aux Natchez après la prise de ces trois Villages ce qu'ils firent avec de Grandes protestations, me Réitérant qu'ils n'avoient plus



wishing to go against the Natchez, not doubting but that the Choctaws would not return when I had taken that village, their custom being to flee as soon as they had struck a blow. On the word that I gave them that, the Natchez once defeated, I would return to Chukafalaya, they seemed content but I soon knew their plan. Their guides after having made us turn and turn again in the forest as if in order to lead us to the great prairie where the largest of the Chickasaw and Natchez villages was, finally led us to a prairie which might be a league around, in the midst of which we saw three small villages situated in the shape of a triangle on the crest of a hill, at the foot of which ran a stream almost dry. This small prairie was distant from the great one only by a league and is separated from it by a wood. The Choctaws came and told me that we would find water farther away, and I made them march the length of the little wood which bounded the prairie, in order to reach a little hill on which I made them halt to eat. It was then after noon. However the Choctaws who wanted, at any price, an attack that would engage them in action with these first villages, were skirmishing there since we had entered the prairie, in order to draw on us the fire of the enemy, which was so successful that the greater part of the officers joined the Choctaw chiefs in order to ask that they attack these villages in which they did not think that we would find great resistance. Pressed from all sides, to not leave these forts behind us, and not being able to order it done without displeasing the Choctaws, I made the chiefs assemble whom I made promise again that they would follow me against the Natchez after the taking of these three villages, which they did with great protestations,

de Vivres, qu'ils se Verroient forcés de nous abandonner Si nous Commencions par Les Natches qui en etoient très pauvres, au lieu que Ces Villages en avoient ordinairement plus que tous Les autres de la Nation Ensemble Je me Rendis donc a leurs Raisons ou plutôt à la nécessité d'en passer par où ils Vouloient et je fis Commander pour deux heures après midy La Compagnie des Grenadiers, Un Piquet de 15 hommes de Chacune des huit Compagnies françoises, 60 Suisses et 45 hommes des Volontaires et Milices, Sous Le Commandement du Chr. De Noyan.

Pendant nôtre halte les Tchactas m'avertirent que Le Secours des Villages de la grande Prairie Parvissoit et qu'il y avoit Beaucoup de Guerriers je fis pendre Les armes pour Les Recevoir mais Les Tchactas ayant attaqué les premiers et tué deux chefs dont ils m'apporterent les Chevelures et les Etendards de plumes, le Reste Se dissipa de l'endroit ou nous étions arrêté a Une portée de Carabine des Villages nous y Distinguions des anglois qui Se donnoient de Grands mouvement pour préparer Les Tchikachas a soutenir nôtre attaque. Malgré Lirrégularité de Cette Conduite, Comme a nôtre Arrivée ils avoient dans un Des trois Villages arboré Un pavillon anglois pour Se faire Connoître, Je Recommanday au Chr. de Moyan D'empêcher qu'on ne les insultat S'ils vouloient Se Retirer et pour Leur en Laisser le Loisir Je luy Ordonnay d'attaquer d'abord Le Village opposé a Celuy du Pavillon.

Cependant Le détachement Commandé Se mit en marche et Gagna le Coteau à la faveur de quel ques matelots qui à la Vérité ne Servirent pas Longemps parce que les nègres qui devoient les porter Jusqu'à Un Certain

reiterating that they no longer had provisions, that they would be forced to abandon us if we commenced with the Natchez, who were very poor, instead of these villages which had, ordinarily, more than all the other ones of the nation together. I yielded then to their arguments or rather to the necessity of going by the way which they wished, and I gave the command at two o'clock in the afternoon to the company of grenadiers, a picket of fifteen men from each of the eight French companies, sixty Swiss and forty-five men of the volunteers and militia, under the command of Chevalier De Noyan.

During our halt the Choctaws warned me that aid from the villages of the great prairie had appeared and that there were many warriors. I made them take their arms in order to receive them but the Choctaws having attacked the first and having killed two chiefs whose scalps and feather head dresses they brought to me, the rest withdrew from the place where we had stopped, at a rifle's shot from the villages. We distinguished there some English who were very active in preparing the Chickasaws to withstand our attack. In spite of the irregularity of this conduct, as at our arrival they had in one of the three villages put up an English flag in order to make themselves known, I recommended Chevalier De Noyan to avoid insulting them if they wished to retire, and, in order to leave them leisure time, I ordered him to first attack the village opposite that with the flag.

Meanwhile the detachment commanded set out on the march, and reached the hill by means of some mantlets which indeed were not used very long, because the negroes who should have carried them up to a certain place, having had one from their number killed and another

Endroit ayant eû un des Leurs tué et Un autre Blessé Jetterent là les mantelets et senfuirent, en entrant dans Le Village appelé ackia La tete de La Colonne & les Grenadiers etant a decouvert furent fort Maltraittés Le Chr. De Contrecour y fut tué & Un nombre de soldats tués ou Blessé, on prit Cependant et on Brula les 3 premieres Cabanes fortes et quelques petites qui Les deffendoient Mais quand il fut question de traverser de Celle la a D'autres, Le Chr. De Noyan S'appercut qu'il N'avoit presque avec luy que Les officiers de la tête quelques Grenadiers et Une douzaine de Volontaires La mort de M. De Lusser qui fut tué en traversant aussy Bien que Celle du Sergent des Grenadiers et D'une partie de Ses Gens, avoit deja effrayé les troupes, Les Soldats Se fouloient derriere les Cabanes Prises sans que Les officiers serrefiles pussent les en detacher, de facon que les officiers de la tete furent presque tous mis hors de Combat, en un instant Le Chr. de Noyan, M. Dautrive Capne. des Grenadiers, les Srs. DeVelle, Grondel et Monbrun furent Blessés. Ce fut envain que le Chr. de Noyan Voulant Conserver Sons terrain envoya Le Sr de St Juzan Son ayde major pour Tacher de Ramener Les soldats. Cet Officier ayant été tué aupres d'eux ne fit par Sa Mort qu'augmenter leur frayeur. Enfin la Blessure de Noyan L'ayant obligé a Se faire Retirer derriere Une Cabanne. Il me depêcha mon Secretaire qui L'avoit suivy, en luy Ordonnant de me Rendre Compte de L'Etat facheux où Il se Trouvoit et de m'avertir que Si je ne faisois Sonner La Retraite ou N'envoyois du secours Le Reste des officiers subiroit beintot Le sort des premiers, que Pour luy Il ne vouloit pas encore se faire Transporter Crainte que le peu de gens qui

wounded, threw down the mantlets there and fled. On entering the village called Ackia the head of the column and the grenadiers who were exposed were treated very badly, Chevalier De Contrecour was killed, and a number of soldiers killed or wounded. They took it however and burned the three first large cabins and some small ones which protected them. But when it was a question of crossing from that to the others, the Chevalier De Noyan perceived that there was with him only the officers at the head, some grenadiers and a dozen volunteers. The death of Monsieur De Lusser who was killed while crossing as well as that of the sergeant of the grenadiers and a small part of his men, had already terrified the troops. The soldiers crowded behind the captured cabins without the officers the last in line being able to draw them away, in such a way that the officers at the head were almost all disabled in an instant. The Chevalier De Noyan, Monsieur D'Autrive, captain of the grenadiers, the Sieurs De Velle, De Grondel and De Montbrun were wounded. It was in vain that Chevalier De Noyan wishing to maintain his ground sent Sieur de St. Juzan his chief aid to endeavor to recall the soldiers. This officer, having been killed near them only succeeded by his death in increasing their terror. Finally the wound of Noyan obliged him to retire behind a cabin. He dispatched to me my secretary, who had accompanied him, ordering him to tell me of the grievous state in which he found himself and to warn me that if I did not sound a retreat or send aid, the rest of the officers would soon experience the fate of the first; that for himself he did not still wish to cross, being afraid that the few men who remained would seize the opportunity to leave the ranks; that as



Restoient ne prissent de la occasion de s'en aller a la debandade, qu'au reste Il y avoit bein 60 ou 70 hommes tués ou blessés.

Sur ce Rapport et sur ce que Je voyois moy même d'ou J'etois plier Les troupes tant françoises que suisses et encore parce que nous Venions d'avoir Une nouvelle allerte du Côte de la Grande Prairie et que nous etions tous sous les armes Jenvoyay M. De Beauchamps avec 80 hommes pour faire faire la Retraite et enlever nos morts et Belssés ce qui ne se fit pas sans perdre encore quelques hommes Le Sr faverot arriva au lieu de Lattaque Il n'y trouva presque plus de Soldats, les officiers Rassemblés et abandonnés Gardoient leur terrain Cest a dire qu'ils en etoient à la Cabane la plus Voisine du Fort M. De Beauchamp Les fit Retirer et Se Rendit au Camp en bon ordre Les Ennemis N'ayant osé sortir pour Le Charger Il est vray que les Tchactas qui Jusques la S'etoient tenus à Couvert Sur la Rampe du Coteau attendant Levenement se leverent alors et firent quelques décharges Ils eurent eu Cette occasion 22 hommes tués ou Blessés, ce qui dans la suite n'a pas peu Contribué à les dégouter.

M'gneur Verra mieux par Le plan cy Joint la situation des trois Villages et La Disposition de notre attaque ce qu'on peut y ajouter Sur la façon de se fortifier de ces Sauvages C'est qu'après avoir entouré leur Cabanes de plusieurs Rangs de Gros pieux, ils Creusent la terre en dedans pour Sy Enforcer Jusqu'aux Epaules et tirent par des Meurtrieres qu'ils font presque a fleur De terre; mais ils tirent encore plus Davantage de la situation Naturelle de leurs Cabans qui Sont Séparées L'une de L'autre et

for the rest, there were indeed 60 or 70 men wounded or killed.

On this report and on what I myself saw from where I was, of the troops as many French as Swiss giving in, and because we had just had a new alarm from the direction of the great prairie and as we were all under arms I sent Monsieur De Beauchamps with eighty men in order to have a retreat made and to carry away our dead and wounded, which was not done without further loss of some men. Lieut. Faverot arrived at the place of the attack. He found there scarcely any more soldiers, the officers gathered together and abandoned, held their terrain—that is to say that they were at the cabin nearest the fort. Monsieur De Beauchamp made them retire and returned to camp in good order, the enemy not having ventured to come out to attack him. It is true that the Choctaws who up till this time had remained under cover on the slope of the hill waiting for the emergency, arose then and fired some shots. They had on this occasion twenty-two men killed or wounded, which, in consequence, contributed not a little to dissatisfy them.

Monseigneur will see better by the plan, which accompanies this the situation of the three villages and the plan of our attack. To this may be added the manner of the fortifications of these Indians. It is, that after having surrounded their cabins with several rows of large posts, they dig out the earth within in order to sink down up to their shoulders, and they fire through the loop-holes which they have made almost on a level with the ground. But they have still greater advantage from the natural situation of their cabins which were sepa-

dont tous Les feux se Croisent que de tout ce que L'art des anglois peut leur suggerer pour Rendre fortes.

La Couverture de ces Cabanes est Un Bousillage De terre et de Bois à Lesreive des fleches a feu et des Grenades. de façon qu'il n'y a que la Bombe qui puisse leur nuire, or nous n'avions ny Canons ny mortiers Au Reste Je ne doutay plus en Vouant le Grand nombre de nos Blessés que Je ne fusse obligé d abandonner La partie par la Difficulté de les transporter et en Effet il n'y avoit point d'autre party à prendre. Je Craignois que les Tchactas affamés ne nous quittassent auquel cas nous aurions été harcelés dans le bois et attaqués au passage des Ravines ou nous aurions perdu Bein du monde, ce qui Justifia Ma Crainte C'est que malgré tout Ce que Je pus leur dire il fallut Partger nos Vivres avec eux Pour leur faire promettre de venir avec nous.

Le Lendemain matin 27 may Je fis faire de Petits Brancards pour porter nos Blessés et a Une heure apres midy nous partimes sur Deux Colonnes Comme nous etoins Venus nos soldats fatigués et chargés de leur Baggage Eurent Une peine infinie a porter les Blessés et nous marchames Jusqu'au Soir pour aller Coucher a Une Lieue et demie dans le Bois Cette marche Lente acheva de dégouter les Tchactas, le Soulier Rouge et quelques autres firent tout leur Possible pour que leurs Gens nous abandonassent. Je N'oubliay Rein pour Rompre ce coup Je Parleray en arrivant au Grand Chef, au Chef des Tchikachas (Tchactas?) et a plusieurs autres, leur Representant que C'etoit pour leur Complaire et Les Venger que J'avois frappé sur les Tchikachas, mon dessein etant d aller aux Natchez. qu'ainsy ils ne devoient pas abandonner des Gens qui avoient agy pour Eux. Ils

rated from each other, and the fire from which crosses; and with all that the skill that the English could suggest to them to make them strong.

The covering of these cabins is a mortar of earth and wood, proof against fire-arrows and grenades, of such construction that only a bomb could injure them. Now we had neither cannon nor mortars, in addition to which I no longer doubted, seeing the great number of our wounded, that I should be obliged to abandon the undertaking on account of the difficulty of transporting them; and in fact there was no other course to take. I feared lest the hungry Choctaws should quit us, in which case we should have been harrassed in the woods, and attacked on crossing the ravines, when we would have lost many men. My fear was justified, for despite all I could say to them it was necessary to divide our provisions with them to induce them to promise to go with us.

The next morning, May 27, I had small litters made to carry our wounded, and an hour before noon we marched away in two columns, as we had come. Our soldiers, fatigued and burdened with their baggage, had great difficulty in carrying the wounded; and we marched until night to camp at a league and a half in the forest. This slow march dissatisfied the Choctaws. The Soulier Rouge and others did all in their power to induce their people to abandon us. I neglected nothing to break up this plot. I talked on arriving, to the head chief, the chief of the Choctaws, and to a number of others, urging on them that it was to please them and avenge them that I had attacked the Chickasaws, my intention being to go against the Natchez; that therefore they ought not to abandon the people who had worked for them. They

en Convinrent assés, mais ils alleguoient que nos Blessés Retardoient trop notre marche, Surquoy Je M'avisay de leur proposer de les faire porter par leurs Guerriers après bien des difficultes Ils S'accorderent a en porter Un par Village.

Alibamon Mingo donna L'exemple en faisant Porter mon neveu de Noyan par Ses Gens et Comme par là nous eumes plus de monde a Se Relayer pour porter Ceux que les Tchactas ne prirent point nous arrivames le 29. au Portage ayant perdu Enchemin deux hommes qui moururent de leurs Blessures.

Nous nous Rembarquames le même jour et nous trouvames la Riviere si basse quoyque nous N'eussions été que Cinq Jours dehors que nous fumes obligés de faire Couper des bois et travailler en plusieurs endroits pour faire passage a nos voitures. Ce fut alors que Je Connus encore Mieux que le party que J'avois pris etoit le seul a prendre, Car Si en effet nous avions été encore 4 jours absents nous aurions peut être été Obligés de nous en aller par terre et de bruler nos Bateaux.

A 3 Lieues audessus de tombekbé où J'arrivay Le 2 Juin Je Remarquay un Chemin des anglois nouvellement frayé et J'y trouvay Un pyroque que Je fis mettre a la derive, le sieur De Léry que J'envoia de la aux Tchactas pour en savois des nouvelles, m'a Rapporté qu'ils y etoient Venus avec 12 Chevaux Charges de Limbourg, et qu'ils y avoient fait leur traitte après quoy ils S'en etoient Retournés, Je depechay de Tombekbé au plustot les Blessés avec les Chirurgiens, et en partant le 3 J'y Laissay M. De Berthet Capitaine pour Remplacer M. De Lusser avec une garnison de 30 françois et 20 Suisses,

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1. Limbourg was a kind of cloth used in the Indian trade. See



agreed to this readily, but urged that our wounded retarded our march too much. Thereupon I bethought myself to propose that they be carried by their warriors. After much objection they agreed to carry one to each village. Alabamon Mingo gave the example by having my nephew De Noyan carried by his people, and as by this means we had an abundance of men for relays to carry those whom the Choctaws did not take, we reached the portage on the 29th, having lost on the road two men who died from their wounds.

We reembarked the same day and we found the river so low that, though we had been away only five days, we were obliged to cut some logs and to work in several places in order to make way for the boats. It was then that I realized still more that the course which I had taken was the only one to take, for if indeed, we had still been four days absent, we would have been obliged perhaps to go away by land and to burn our boats.

At three leagues above Tombekbé, where I arrived on June 2, I noticed a trail of the English newly made and I found there a pirogue that I set adrift. Sieur De Léry whom I sent from there to the Choctaws in order to learn the news, reported to me that they had come there with twelve horses loaded with Limbourg<sup>1</sup> and that they had their treaty there after which they had returned. I sent the wounded with the surgeons from Tombekbé and on leaving on the third, I left there Monsieur De Lusser with a garrison of thirty Frenchmen and twenty Swiss. I left him provisions for this whole year and some merchandise for a trading post. I left him also the plans made for the construction of the fort

Je luy laissay des Vivres pour toute Cette annee, et des marchandises au magasin pour la traite, Je luy laissay aussi les Marchés faits pour la Construction du fort avec ordre d'y faire travailler incessamment sur le terrain que J'avois fait tracer.

Le 7 J'arrivay aux tomés ou J'appris d'un Sauvage les premieres nouvelles du Malheur De M. Dartaguet, que M. Diron me Confirma a la mobille le lendemain a mon arrivée, dans une autre Lettre J'auray L'honneur d'en Rapporter a M'gneur les tristes circonstances. Je Suis party de la mobille le 15 et arrive le 22 ici où Je n'ay plus trouvé le Vaisseau du Roy qui estoit deja party pour la Balise où Je luy envoie mes paquets.

Monseigneur aura Vû par cette Relation D'une Campagne la plus penible du monde, que dans le dessein dans L'exécution et dans la Retraite, J'ay employé tous les moyens imaginables, et il aura aussi Remarqué qu'après avoir essuyé dans les preparatifs Une Lenteur a laquelle Ye ne Devois pas m'attendre. J'ay encore pû moins prévoir la Lacheté des troupes que J'aurois sous mes orders. Il Vray qu'a Considerer les Recrues pitoyables de polissons qu'on envoie icy, on ne devroit Jamais se flatter d'en faire des Soldats. Ce qu'il y a de facheux C'est d'être Olbigé avec de pareilles troupes de Com-promettre la gloire de la nation et d'exposer des Officiers a la nécessité de se faire tuer ou de Se deshonorer, les Recrues Venues par la Gironde Sont encore pires que les précédentes. Il ne S'y trouve qu'un ou deux hommes au dessus de cinq pieds le reste est au dessous de 4 pieds 10 pouces quant a leurs sentiments on peut ajouter qu'il y a des 52 qu'ils sont, plus de la moitié qui a deja passe par Les Verges Pour Vol enfin ce sont des Bouches

with the order to work incessantly on the terrain that I had had laid out.

On the seventh I arrived at Tomés where I learned from an Indian the first news of the misfortune of Monsieur Dartaguiette which Monsieur Diron confirmed for me at Mobile the next day on my arrival. In another letter I will have the honor of reporting the sad circumstances to Monseigneur.

I set out from Mobile on the fifteenth and arrived there on the twenty-second where I did not find the King's ship which had already left for Balise where I sent my letters to it.

Monseigneur will have seen by this recital of a campaign the most difficult in the world that in the plan, in the execution and the retreat, I used all means imaginable, and he will have also noticed that after having suffered delay in the preparation that I should not have expected, I could still less foresee the cowardice of the troops that I have under my command. It is true that in considering the pitiful recruits of blackguards which they send here, one should never flatter himself that he can make soldiers of them. What there is of disagreeableness is to be obliged, with such troops, to compromise the glory of the nation and to expose the officers to the necessity of having themselves killed or of dishonoring themselves. The troops who came by the Gironde are worse than the ones preceding them. There has been found only one or two men over five feet tall, the rest are under four feet, ten inches. As to their ideals we can add that there are fifty-two (more than half) who have already passed through the courts for theft. In brief they are useless mouths, encumbrances to the pro-

inutiles a la charge des Vivres de la Colonie qui n'en tirera aucun service.

La Retraite que J'ay fait faire sans aucune perte est la seule chose dont je sois Content puisque J'ai Ramené encore un bon nombre d'honnêtes Gens qui Sont a Conserver pour une autre occasion Après Cela Je m'estime heureux Si M'gneur Veut bien Rendre Justice a mes soins et a mon zele pour la service.

Signé

Bienville.

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RELATION DU COMBAT LIVRE PAR D'ARTAGUIETTE AUX CHICACHAS. 1736, MARS 27. N. S.<sup>1</sup>

Relation du combat livré par Mr. Dartaguiette Chevalier de St. Louis Major de la Nlle. Orleans et Commandant aux Illinois, aux Sauvages Chicachas le 25 mars 1736.

M. Dartaguiette ayant Receu des ordres de M. de Bienville pour le Venir Joindre aux Chicachas avec les Troupes qu'il pourroit prendre de sa Garnison, les Sauvages Illinois et habitans de Son Commandement quil pourroit Rassembler, partit du fort de Chartres le 22 fevrier der avec le S De St. Ange, Desgly et Dustisé Lieutenans, DeVincennes lieut. Reforme et Commandant a Ouabache, de Coulange Enseigne En Pied et de la Graviere et Frontigny Enseignes En Second 27 Soldats 110, Habitans, 38 Iroquois, 28 Akanzas, 100 Illinois, 160

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1. Paris Arch. Nat. Colonies F 3, 24, Fos. 258-263.

2. There has been uncertainty as to the exact date of the battle,

visions for the colony, which will not render it any service.

The retreat that I made without any loss is the only thing with which I am content since I again brought back a good number of honest men who are to be saved for another occasion. After that I consider myself happy if Monseigneur will be willing to do justice to my care and my zeal for service.

Signed

Bienville.

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ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE FOUGHT BY D'ARTAGUIETTE  
WITH THE CHICKASAWS,  
MARCH 25, 1736

Account of the battle fought by M. D'Artaguiette, Chevalier de St. Louis, Major of New Orleans, and Commandant at the Illinois, with the Chickasaw Indians, March 25, 1736.<sup>2</sup>

M. D'Artaguiette, having received orders from M. de Bienville to come to join him at the Chickasaws with the troops that he was able to take from his garrison, the Illinois Indians, and the habitants of his district whom he was able to assemble, left Fort Chartres the 22nd of February last, with S. de St. Ange, Desgly and Dutisné, lieutenants; De Vincennes, half-pay lieutenant and Commandant at the Ouabache, de Coulange, infantry ensign, and de La Graviere and Frontigny, second en-

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but it is quite conclusively settled as Palm Sunday, March 25, 1736. See Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. 7, pp. 101-2.



Miamis Ce qui formoit une petite Armée de 145 françois et de 326 Sauvages.

Il Laissa pour Commander aux Illinois En son absence le S. De la Buissonniere Capitaine et le S. Demontcharvaux Enseigne En pied pour Rassembler 180 Sauvages Illinois qui Etoient en hivernement et pour les Luy Amener aux Ecors a prud'homme ou il devoit les attendre. Il arriva aux Ecors a Prudhomme le 28 fevrier y fit Construire Un fortin de Pieux En Terre ou Il Laissa 25 hommes y Compris 3 Soldats Malades Et un Capitaine de Milice nommé Jolibois pour Commander. Il Partit de cet Endroit le 5 mars Suivant pour les Chicachas.

Lors quil fut a Environ 18 Lieues des Villages Chicachas il Envoia 3 Sauvages Illinois et un Sauvage Miamis pour aller decouvrir Si M. De. Bienville Arrivoit, ils Raporterent qu'ils n'avoient Rien Vû.

Il Fint Conseil avec les Iroquois qui ne Se fiant pas Au Rapport des Illinois L'Engagerent pour Estre plus Certains d' Envoyer A la decouverte 4 de leurs gens avec 4 Illinois Un Chicachas Adopté par les Miamis et un Canadian né. framboise pour observer la Scituation du fort des Chicachas et le nombre de leurs Cabanes Ils Rapporterent quils avoient vû Environ 15 Cabanes Sur une petite Butte 5 a 6. Sur une autre un petit fort d'Environ 40 Pieds de Long Sur 30 de large Et qu'ils Croioient qu'il pouvoit y avoir dans ce Village 30 ou 35 Cabanes au Plus.

M. Dartaguiette Fint Conseil avec Tous les Chefs des allies et leur demanda ce qu'ils Vouloient faire, les Chefs illinois et Miamis luy Repondirent qu'ils S'en Remettoient a ce que decideroient les Iroquois qui Etoient Plus habiles qu Eux.

signs, 27 soldiers, 110 habitants, 38 Iroquois, 28 Arkansaws, 100 Illinois, 160 Miamis, which made up a small army of 145 French and 326 Indians.

He left in command at the Illinois in his absence *Sieur De la Buissonniere*, captain, and *Sieur de Montcharvaux*, infantry ensign, to assemble the 180 Illinois Indians who were in winter quarters, and lead them to *Ecorse à Prudhomme*, where he would wait for them. He arrived at *Ecorse à Prudhomme* the 28th of February, and built there a small palisade fort, where he left 25 men, including three sick soldiers, and a militia captain named *Jolibois* to command. He left there the fifth of March following for the Chickasaw country.

When he was about 18 leagues from the Chickasaw villages he sent three Illinois Indians and a Miami Indian to find out whether *M. de Bienville* had arrived. They reported that they had seen nothing. He took counsel with the Iroquois, who, not trusting in the report of the Illinois, induced him, in order to be more certain, to send for reconnoissance four of their people with four Illinois, a Chickasaw adopted by the Miamis, and a Canadian called *Framboise*, to learn the position of the Chickasaw fort and the number of their cabins. They reported that they had seen about 15 cabins on a little hill, five or six on another, a small fort about 40 feet long by 30 wide, and that they believed that there might be in that village 30 or 35 cabins more.

*M. D'Artaguiette* took counsel with all the chiefs of the allies, and asked them what they wished to do. The Illinois and Miami chiefs replied to him that they would rely upon what was decided by the Iroquois, who were cleverer than they were. The Iroquois said that they

Les Iroquois dirent qu'ils feroient Tout ce que Mr. Dartaguiette Jugeroit a propos, il les remercia et leur demanda leur Sentiment Quisque Tu Veux, Repliquerent les Iroquois Scavoir ce que nous pensons, nous te L'allons dire.

La Marche que nous venons de faire ayant Eté plus longue que nous ne l'ayions Cru, a Consommé nos Vivres, nous n'en Avons Plus et Si nous voulons attendre M De Bienville qui peut estre ne viendra pas de Dix a onze Jours, nous Courrons Risque de mourrir de faim, pour prevenir Cet Incovenient, il faut attaquer le Village Chicachas que nous avons decouvert, Lorsque nous l'aurons Enlevé, nous y Trouverons de quoy Subsister et nous nous Retrancherons dans le Fort que nous aurons pris En attendant Mr. de Bienville. Ce dessein etoit Bon et M. Dartaguiette qui le Gouta fit marcher Toute Sa petite Troupe; Il arriva le 24 mars a neuf heures du Soir a une Lieue du fort des Chicachas. Il Envoya 4 Iroquois a la decouverte, pend leur absence on Entendit Firer plusieurs Coups de fusil qui partoient du Village des Chicachas ce qui fit penser que Mr. de Bienville arrivoit peustestre de L'Autre Coté.

Les 4 decourvreurs Iroquois ne Revinrent que Sur les Trois heures après minuit et rapporterent que Tous les Chicachas Etoient fort Tranquils. La Petite armée Se Remit En marche et Vint jusqu'a Une demy Lieue du fort M. Dartaguiette fit decharger les Cheveaux qui portoient le Bagage, mais les Iroquois Trouverent Ce quartier de Reserve Trop Eloigné de l'Endroit ou l'on devoit attaquer les Chevaux furent Rechargés et Avancerent jusqu'a un demy quart de Lieue des Chicachas.

would do anything that M. D'Artaguiette judged proper. He thanked them, and asked for their judgment. "Since you wish," replied the Iroquois, "to know what we think, we shall tell it to you."

"The march which we have just made, having been longer than we expected, has used up our provisions. We have no more of them, and if we intend to wait for M. De Bienville, who perhaps will not come for ten or eleven days, we run the risk of dying from hunger. To prevent this danger, it is necessary to attack the Chickasaw village which we found. When we have taken it we will find there means of subsistence, and we can entrench ourselves in the fort that we have captured while waiting for M. De Bienville." This plan was good, and M. D'Artaguiette, who approved it, made all his little troop march. He arrived March 24th at nine o'clock in the evening, about a league from the fort of the Chickasaws. He sent four Iroquois to reconnoitre; during their absence there were heard fired several gunshots from the direction of the Chickasaw village; a thing which made them think that perhaps M. De Bienville had come up on the other side.

The four Iroquois spies did not come back until three hours after midnight, and reported that all the Chickasaws were very quiet. The little army began marching again, and came within a half-league of the fort. M. D'Artaguiette ordered the horses which carried the baggage to be unloaded, but the Iroquois thought this place of deposit too far from the place where it was necessary to attack. The horses were reloaded and went on to an eighth of a league from the Chickasaws.

There M. D'Artaguiette placed his powder, munitions

La Mr. Dartaguiette mit ses poudres, minitions et Bagages Sous la Garde du S. de frontigny Enseigne avec 5 soldats et quinze habitans Le R. P. Senat Jesuite qui Servoit d'aumonier Resta Aussy En cette Endroit.

\* Par un Terres Tres Couvert a Environ 6 a y heures du matin du 25 Mars 1736. M. Dartaguiette a la Teste de Ses Officiers et de Ses Soldats montant a 26 hommes Luy Compris formoit avec les habitans au Nombre de 73 Le Corps de l'armee Les Iroquois a la Teste des Miamis Etoient a la gauche et les Akanas a la Teste des Illinois Etoient a la droite.

Ils marcherent En cet ordre Contre le fort des Chicachas a Environ une portée de fusil Les Illinois et Les Miamis firent de grands Cris de mort et Attaquerent une Butte ou ils Croyoient appercevoir quelques Cabanes Mais Elles Etoient Plus loin Sur une autre Eminence.

Comme Larmee approchoit du fort, Um Chef des Chicachas En Sortit avec 3 Calumets mais Les Sauvages Illinois, Miamis, Tirerent dessus Sans L'Ecouter et le Tuerent; on S'Empara de 4 ou 5 Cabanes, et le Fort fut attaqué Aussitot les Chicachas du fort et des Autres Cabanes ne parurent pas, ils se deffendirent seulement par des Meurtrices, les Iroquois Leverent Une Chevelure et prirent une femme Thonicas qui Etoit prisonniere chez les Chicachas Les Illinois prirent une femme et les akanas un Enfant, au bout d'un quart d'heure on vit paroistre Sur des Colines 4 ou 500 Chicachas qui venoient au secours de Leurs Gens Ce qui Effraya Tellement les Illinois et les Miamis qu'ils prirent la fuite malgré les Remontrances de leurs Chefs M. Dartaguiette Se voyant Tout d'um Coup Abandonné de Plus de 250 sauvages fut

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1. The location is near Fulton, Lee County, Miss.



and baggage, under the guard of *Sieur de Frontigny*, ensign, with five soldiers and fifteen habitants. The Reverend Jesuit Father *Senat*, who acted as Chaplain, also remained at this place. By ground well-sheltered, about 6 to 7 o'clock in the morning of March 25, 1736, *M. D'Artaguiette* at the head of his officers and his soldiers, numbering 26 men including himself, formed with habitants to the number of 73 the center of the army. The *Iroquois*, at the head of the *Miamis*, were at the left, and the *Arkansaws*, at the head of the *Illinois*, were at the right.

They marched in this order against the fort of the *Chickasaws*.<sup>1</sup> At about a gunshot from it, the *Illinois* and *Miamis* gave a great war-whoop, and attacked a hill where they thought they saw a few cabins, but there were more beyond on another hill. As the army approached the fort, a chief of the *Chickasaws* came out with three peace pipes, but the *Illinois* and *Miami* Indians fired on him without listening to him, and killed him. Four or five cabins were taken possession of, and the fort was attacked. Immediately the *Chickasaws* in the fort and the other cabins did not show themselves. They defended themselves wholly through the loopholes. The *Iroquois* took one scalp, and captured a *Tonica* woman who was a prisoner among the *Chickasaws*. The *Miamis* captured a woman, and the *Arkansaws* a child.

At the end of a quarter of an hour there appeared on the hills four or five hundred *Chickasaws* who came to the rescue of their people, which so frightened the *Illinois* and *Miamis* that they took flight, in spite of the remonstrances of their chiefs. *M. D'Artaguiette*, seeing

obligé de Se Battre En Retraite Jusqu'a L'Endroit ou Etoient Ses munitions et Bagages. En Se Retirant il Eut 3 Doigts de la main droite Coupée par une Balle.

Les Chicachas Encouragés par la fuite des Illinois et Miamis porsuivirent nostre petite armée avec Beaucoup de fureur et L'Environnerent.

Mr. Dartaguiette Receu un second Coup de Balle dans la Cuisse, ce qui le Contraignit de S'appuyer Contre un arbre et la il Tachoit par Ses paroles d'animer sa Troupe. Plusieurs de ceux qui Etoient auprès de Luy, luy Conseillerent de se sauver son domestique noe. Pantaloon luy amena son Cheval et voulu avec quelqu'habitans l'Engager a monter dessus, mais Il S'obstina a demeurer pour Encourager Ses officiers Soldats et Sauvages a repousser les Chicahcas. Comme il les Exhortoit il Recut un Troisieme Coup de Balle dans le Bas ventre dont Il Tomba mort.

Malgré la mort de M. Dargaguiette M. De St. Ange premier Lieutenant et les Autres officiers firent Tous leurs Efforts pour Repousser les Chicachas, mais ils succomberent sous le nombre, et furent la Pluspart Tués auprès du Corps de Mr. Dartaguiette; La plus part des officiers de milice y perirent aussy Le Petit nombre des Soldats des Troupes et de milice qui Restoit, Se Voiant Sans Chefs et Sans officers, fut Obligé de Se Sauver. Les Chicachas Le Poursuivirent pendt. pres de 4 Lieues et L'auroient Sans doutte atteint et deffait Entierement Si la Pluye qui tomba En tres grande abondance et qui Commença Sur les Dix heures du matin, ne les En Eut Empresché.

Ce Combat a duré depuis 6 heures et demy 7 heures du matin jusqu'a 9 Heures Les Iroquois et les Akancas

himself abandoned at one stroke by more than 250 Indians, was obliged to call a retreat to the place where the baggage and munitions were. In retiring he had three fingers of his right hand cut off by a bullet. The Chickasaws, encouraged by the flight of the Illinois and Miamis, pursued our little army with great fury, and surrounded it.

M. D'Artaguiette received a second bullet-shot in his thigh, which obliged him to lean against a tree, and there he strove by his words to rouse his troops. Many of those who were near him advised him to save himself. His servant, called Pantaloon, led his horse to him, and tried, with some of the habitants, to induce him to mount, but he insisted on staying to encourage his officers, soldiers and Indians to repulse the Chickasaws. While he was exhorting them he received a third gunshot wound in the abdomen, from which he fell dead.

Despite the death of M. D'Artaguiette, M. De St. Ange, first lieutenant, and the other officers tried hard to repulse the Chickasaws, but they succumbed to the force of numbers, and were most of them killed near the body of M. D'Artaguiette; the greater part of the officers of the militia perished here also. The small number of soldiers of the troops and militia who remained, seeing themselves without leaders and without officers, were obliged to save themselves. The Chickasaws pursued them for nearly four leagues, and would without doubt have overtaken them and killed them all, if the rain, which fell in great quantity, and which began at ten o'clock in the morning, had not prevented them.

This combat lasted from between six and seven in the morning until nine o'clock. The Iroquois and the Arkan-

ont parfaitement Bien soutenus et L'on doit a leur valeur et a leurs Soins pendt. La retraite plus de vingt Soldats ou habitans Blessés qui auroient Eté Tués ou faits prisonniers qu'ils ont aydés a Transporter aux Ecors a Prudhomme ou le debris de L'armée arriva partie Le 29 et le Reste Le 30 Mars Suivant.

Le Landemain de la deffaite nos gens Trouverent le Sr. De. Montcharvaux Enseigne En Pied qui venoit Joindre Mr. Dartaguiette Avec 180 Sauvages Illinois 5 Soldats 8 habitans, il Rebroussa Chemin et Revint aux Ecors a Prudhomme.

Les Illinois qui avoient fuy les Premiers Traverserent Le fleuve St. Louis et S'En retournerent Chez Eux par Terre Les Akanças ont descendus par le fleuve a leurs villages et les Iroquois ont accompagné par Eaux nos François jusqu'au Poste des Illinois.

On a Interrogé la femme Thonicas Sur le nombre des Chicachas. Elle a Dit qu'ils pouvoient Estre au nombre de 1000 hommes, 100 natchers et 80 Chaouanous, que Mr. Dartaguiette avoit Eté Trompé par les rapports des decouvreurs, attendu que les villages Chicachas Etoient Tous Rassemblés dans un mesme Endroit et Se porvoient donner Reciproquement du Secours En cas d'attaque, que ce qui avoit pu tromper Les decouvreurs C'est que Tous Ces Villages Sont Sur des Buttes qui Se Masquent les unes et les Autres, qu'ils Sont Environnés de Bois et qu'on n'En peut Scavoir le nombre que lors que l'on Est au millieu, Cette femme dit aussy qu'il uovoit y avoir 7 ou 10 Anglois Traitteurs dans le Fort que Mr. Dargguiette a attaqué.

Lors de L'attaque un Iroquois Planta son Pavillon En Terre au millieu du Village; Deux Anglois Sortirent du

saws behaved splendidly, and there are, owing to their valor and to their care during the retreat, more than twenty wounded soldiers and habitants who would have been killed or made prisoners, whom they aided in carrying to Ecorse à Prudhomme, where the remnant of the army arrived, part on the 29th and the rest on the 30th of March following.

The day after the defeat our people met *Sieur de Montcharvaux*, who was coming to join *M. Artaguiette* with 180 Illinois, five soldiers and eight habitants. He turned back and came to Ecorse à Prudhomme. The Illinois, who were the first to take flight, crossed the Mississippi river and returned to their home through the country of the Arkansaws, and have gone by the river to their villages, and the Iroquois accompanied by water our French to the post of the Illinois.

The Tonica woman was interrogated as to the number of the Chickasaws. She said they may be 1000 men in number, 100 Natchez, and 80 Shawnees; that *M. D'Artaguiette* had been misled by the reports of the spies into supposing that the villages of the Chickasaws were all grouped in one place, where they would be able to give reciprocal aid in case of attack; that what had deceived the spies was that all these villages were on hills which conceal one another, which are surrounded by forests, and of which one cannot learn the number until he is in the midst of them. This woman also said that there were perhaps eight or ten English traders in the fort which *M. D'Artaguiette* had attacked.

During the attack an Iroquois planted his flag in the ground in the middle of the village; two Englishmen made a sortie from the Chickasaw fort and trampled it



fort des Chicachas et le foulerent au pieds; L'Iroquois et quelques Soldats Tirerent dessus, les uns disent qu'ils ont été Tués Sur le Champ, et d'autres qu'ils Se sont Retirés.

### Liste des Morts

#### Officiers des Troupes

Mrs.

Dartaguiette Commandant  
 St. Ange fils Lieutenant  
 Desgly Lieutenant  
 De Vincennes Lieutenant reformé  
 Coulange Ensigne En Pied  
 De la Graviere Ensigne En Second

#### Cadets

Serard  
 Desmorieres  
 Tonty  
 Duclos Le Jeune

#### Soldats

La Croix Caporal  
 françois Leger dt. mauricaut<sup>1</sup>  
 Joseph Lelarge dt. L'Enclume  
 Pierre Guebert dt. Courte Oreills  
 Pierre huet dt. La Palme  
 Pierre David dt. Le Bretton  
 Ives le Libris dt. Beaulieu  
 Nicholas Beaudran dt. Lafrance  
 Joseph Duval dt. Le Bretton

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1. Evidently "moricaut", or black-amoor. The French indi-

under foot. The Iroquois fired on them; some say they were killed on the field, and others that they withdrew.

## LIST OF THE DEAD:

## OFFICERS OF THE TROOPS,

Messrs. D'Artaguiette, Commandant.  
St. Ange, the son, Lieutenant.  
Desgly, Lieutenant.  
De Vincennes, half-pay Lieutenant.  
Coulange, infantry ensign.  
De La Graviere, second ensign.

## CADETS

Serard.  
Desmorieres.  
Tonty.  
Duclos, the younger.

## SOLDIERS

La Croix, corporal.  
Francois Leger, called Mauricaut.<sup>1</sup>  
Joseph Lelarge, called L'Enclume—(Anvil).  
Pierre Guebert, called Courte Oreille—(Short  
Ear—actually made prisoner).  
Pierre Huet, called La Palme.  
Pierre David, called Le Breton.  
Ives le Libris, called Beaulieu.  
Nicholas Beaudran, called La France.  
Joseph Duval, called Le Breton.

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cated a nickname by "dit", which has often been mistaken by Americans for "de", and supposed to be a title of nobility.

## Officers de Milice et habitans

Mrs.

Desessars Capitaine

Langlois Lieut

Tous 3 freres de L'of- ficier Compris dans La Presente	} Bel Ecars la Graviere Cargueville La Graviere Richarville La Graviere (mot de Ses Blessures aux Akanças)
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St. Cire

Allart

Carriere

Bonvillain

Rochefort

Va deboncoeur

Savot

Me. Jean

Chauvin

Masson

Cochon

Bourmon

## Prisonniers

Le R. P. Senat Jesuite

Dutisé Lieutenant des Troupes

De la Lande Capitaine de milice

Le Sr. Frontigny Enseigne En second s'est perdu En  
se sauvant. On croit qu'il aura este pris ou Bien quil  
Sera mort dans le Bois.

Les Ennemis ont pris au Corps de Reserve

450 ll de Poudre

1200 ll de Balles

30 Pots d'Eaudevie

On Estime quils ont Environ 60 ou 70 hommes de Tués  
et Beauchoup de Blessés.

On a appris depuis per les Lettres Ecrites par Mrs. de  
la Buissonniere Commandant et Dela loere Ecrivain prin-  
cipal aux Illinois qua Environ une ou deux Journées des

## OFFICERS OF MILITIA AND HABITANTS

Messrs. Desessars, Captain.

Langlois, Lieutenant.

(All three brothers of the officer — ensign — named above.)

	Bel Ecars la Graviere
	Cargueville la Gravier
	Richardville la Gravier

St. Cire

Allart

Carriere

Bonvillain

Rochefort

Va Deboncoeur

Savot

Monte Jean

Chauvin

Masson

Cochon

Bourmon

## PRISONERS

Reverend Father Senat, Jesuit.

Dutisné, Lieutenant of the Troops.

De la Lande, Captain of Militia.

Sieur Frontigny, second ensign; he was lost in the flight, and is supposed to have been captured, or perhaps killed in the woods.

The enemy captured of munitions, 450 pounds of powder, 1200 pounds of bullets, 30 jugs of brandy.

It is estimated that they had about 60 or 70 men killed, and many wounded.

It has been since learned from letters written by Messrs. De La Buissoniere, Commandant, and Delaloere, chief scrivener at the Illinois, that about one or two days journey from the Chickasaw country M. D'Artaguiette had received the letters by which M. De Noyan had told him of the order of M. de Bienville to retard his march, and wait for him in order that they might strike together against the Chickasaws and Natchez; that after

Chicachas Mr. Dartaguiette avoit Receu les Lettres par Lesquelles Mr. De Noyan Luy marquoit par Ordre de M. de Bienville de retarder sa marche et de L'attendre pour frapper Ensemble Sur les Chicachas et Natchez, qu' apres la deffaite de Mr. Dartaguiette Les Chicachas qui se sont Emparés de Tous Ces Effets auront Sans doute Trouvés Ces Lettres mesme Toutes Celles que differens particuliers de la Nlle. Orleans Ecrivoient aux Illinois qui Etoient Toutes En un seul paquet Sous une Enveloppe et les auront Communiqués aux Anglois qui ont Eu par Consequent Entiere Connoissance des Desmarches et preparatifs que Mr. de Bienville faisoit contre Ces Sauvages, ce qui les obligé de Se Rassembler, de se fortifier et d'appeller les Anglois a leur secours pour Estre En Etat de Resister a l'armee qu'ils Scavoient que Mr. De Bienville devoit mener Contre Eux.

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DE CRÉMONT AU MINISTRE  
LETTRE DE M. DE CREMONT AU MINISTRE  
(1737)<sup>1</sup>

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous informer de notre arrivée au Cap le 13 du mois, dernier. Notre relache n'a esté que de Cinq jours qui ont esté employés à remplacer L'eau et le bois que nous avons Consommé depuis notre depart de France. Cette provision faite, nous sommes party le 17 de Janvier pour la Balise où nous avons mouilles le quatre de ce mois, ce qui fait dix huit jours de traversée du Cap<sup>2</sup> ici, lesquels, avec 47 jours depuis

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1. Paris Arch. Nat. Colonies F 2 24, Fos. 250, 251.



the defeat of M. D'Artaguiette, the Chickasaws, who took possession of all their belongings, without doubt found these letters, as well as all those which various persons in New Orleans had written to the Illinois, which were all in one package in one envelope; and they communicated with the English, who consequently have had complete information of the measures and preparations which M. de Bienville was making against these Indians; this caused them to assemble, to fortify themselves, and to call the English to their aid, in order to be in a condition of resistance to the army which they knew M. de Bienville would lead against them.

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#### LETTER OF M. DE CREMONT TO THE MINISTER (1737)<sup>1</sup>

I have had the honor of informing you of our arrival at the Cape<sup>2</sup> the 13th of last month. Our stay was of only five days, which were spent in replacing the water and wood that we had used since our departure from France. This provision made, we left the 17th of January for Balize, where we anchored the fourth of this month, which makes eighteen days of voyage from the Cape here, which, with 47 days from France to Santo Domingo, makes sixty-five, not counting the stay at the Cape.<sup>2</sup> We would have arrived here in fifteen days if we had not been held back by the north-west winds from the tropic till here. We were astonished to find this kind of wind so obstinate in these latitudes, but our surprise

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2. Cape Haitien, on the island of Santo Domingo.

france jusqu'a St. domingue, font Soixante et Cinq. Non Compris la relache au Cap, nous serions même arrivés ici en cinquante jours, si nous n'avions pas esté, contrariés par les vents de Nordouest depuis le tropique jusqu'icy. Nous estions étonnés de trouver ces sortes de Vents si opiniâtes dans ces parages, mais notre surprise a lessée à notre arrivée ici lorsque nous avons appris qu'ils y ont régné depuis le mois d'octobre.

L' obstination de Ces Vents a trompé L'estime de nos pilotes parce qu'ils ont occasionné Le Changement des Courants du Golfe qui, au lieu de porter a L'est Comme ils le font ordinairement dans cette Saison. Nous ont au Contraire entraîné au coté opposée et Loin d'atterre au milieu de Lisle Ste. Roye environ a Cinquante Lieües à L'est de L'entrée du fleuve Comme nous Le devions Suivant la route du Nord que Nous faisions, nous nous sommes Trouvés à Cing Lieües dans L'ouest de la Balise qui est la premiere terre que nous avons vûe. Voila, Monseigneur, Les accidens les plus Essentiels de notre Navigation.

Comme je ne suis arrivé ici, Monseigneur, que depuis deux jours je n'ay pô encore Prendre aucune Connoissance de la Situation presente de cette Colonnie parraport aux Sauvages. Mr. de Bienville m'a dit qu'il estoit de toute impossibilité d'aller attaquer Les Chicachas cette année et que cette entreprise ne pouvoit se faire au plutôt que dans dix huit mois.

Il ne s'est pas trouvé vrai, Comme on L'avoit Cru d'abord, que Mr. Dartaguet. et tous ces officiers avoient esté tués, sur le champ de bataille Blessé de trois coups de fusil, il fut pris avec quelques uns de ses officiers aussi Blessés, le père Senat et quelques Soldats et habitans, le tout au Nombre de dix neuf; et une

was lessened on our arrival here when we learned that they have prevailed since October.

The stubbornness of these winds misled the judgment of our pilots, because they have caused the changing of the gulf streams, which, instead of bearing to the east, as they usually do at this season, carried us on the contrary in the opposite direction, and far from landing at the middle of Ste. Roye island, about fifty leagues to the east of the mouth of the river, as we should, following the course from the north which we had taken, we found ourselves five leagues west of Balize, which was the first land that we had seen. These, Monseigneur, are the most important happenings of our trip.

As I arrived here, Monseigneur, only two days ago, I have not yet been able to look into the present situation of this colony in connection with the Indians. M. de Bienville has told me that it would be absolutely impossible to go to attack the Chickasaws this year, and that this enterprise could not be accomplished sooner than in eighteen months.

It has not been found true, as was believed at first, that M. D'Artaguiette and all his officers were killed on the field of battle. Wounded by three gunshots, he was captured with some of his officers, also wounded, Father Senat, and some soldiers and habitants, the whole to the number of nineteen; and an Indian girl, an eye witness, who had been a slave among the Chickasaws, being rescued from them by the Alabamas, M. de Bienville had her come here, and she reported that on the same day as the attack, M. D'Artaguiette, his officers, Father Senat the Jesuit priest, and the other prisoners to the number of seventeen altogether, were thrown alive into two different fires which the Indian women had prepared. And when

Sauvagesse avoyelle qui etoit esclave chez les Chicachas S'estant Sauvée aux a Libamons Mr. de Bienville La fait venir ici et elle a raporté que le meme jour de L'attaque Mr. Dartaguettes ses officiers, Le père Sénat jesuitte Et les autres prisonniers au Nombre de dix sept entout furent jettés vifs dans deux fues différens, que les sauvagesses avoient Préparés Et où elles Les Brulerent elle a asseuré aussi, que, pendant L'appareil de cette barbare tragedie, nos françois Chanterent, ainsi que C'est l'usage des Sauvages qui ne jugent de la valeur d'un guerrier que par Les sons plus ou moins forts de voix au moment ou ils le font mourir.

Les Chicachas ont gardé en vie les deux autres prisonniers que L'on Croît estre des habitants pour Les Echanger avec Le nommé Courserai Chicachas que Mr. de Bienville a retenu prisonnier pendant la guerre cette echange aura Lieu afin que l'on puisse tirer de des deux hommes des Eclaircissemens sur la situation présente de ces sauvages et sur la disposition de leurs forts, L'echange se doit faire par les alibamons qui doivent envoyer deux de leur guerriers pour ôtage aux Chicachas, Lors qu'on Leur remettra Les deux françois, ensuite monsr. de Bienville enverra Courserai aux Alibamons pour Retirer les deux françois, et les alibamons retireront Leur deux hommes en rendant Courserai aux Chicachas ce qui se doit faire incessamment; voilà, Monseigneur, Les nouvelles qui sont parvenues à ma connoissance depuis mon arrivée.

Je compte partir dans quinze jours pour la mobille et J'auroy L'honneur d'informer Monseigneur par le retour du vaisseau duroy de l'etat où J'auray trouvé ce département.

De Crémont.

they burned them, she assured us also that, during the preparation of this barbarous tragedy, our French sang, in the same manner as the Indians, who judge the valor of a warrior only by the strength or weakness of his voice at the time when they are about to put him to death.

The Chickasaws have kept alive the other two prisoners, who are believed to be habitants, in order to exchange them for the Chickasaw named Courserai, whom M. de Bienville has kept prisoner during the war. This exchange will take place in order that we may gain from these two men a clear idea of the present situation of the Indians, and the position of their strongholds. The exchange will be made through the Alabamas who will send two of their warriors to the Chickasaws as hostages. When the two Frenchmen are surrendered to them, M. de Bienville will send Courserai to the Alabamas in return for the French, and the Alabamas will get back their two men on giving up Courserai to the Chickasaws, a thing which must be done at once. These, Monseigneur, are the bits of news which have come to my knowledge since my arrival here.

I expect to leave for Mobile in two weeks, and I will have the honor of informing Monseigneur on the return of the King's ship, of the state in which I find that department.

De Crémont.



RÉCIT DE LA MARCHE ET DE LA DÉFAITE DE  
D'ARTAGUIETTE, PAR PARISIEN.<sup>1</sup>

Déclaration de la défaite de l'armée des français partie des Illinois, Sous le Commandement de M. Dartaguiette major, pour aller sur les chicachas, nos ennemis par le nommée parisien Anspasade<sup>2</sup> sauve, de la dérouté de l'armée Composé de 130 français. Savoir, 41 hommes de troupes y compris le commandant, les Officiers, sergents et Caporaux, 99 Volontaires de milices y compris les Officiers, 38 Iroquois Braves gens qui ont tenu ferme, 38 arcancas, 190, Sauvages tant Illinois que miamy, font en tout 396 hommes, et partis des Illinois Le 20 février 1736. Est arrivée aux Ecors à Prud, hommes<sup>3</sup> Le 23 du même mois. En Est party le 25 pour se rendre aux chicachas Ou elle est arrivé Le 25 mars jour des Rameaux qu'elle attaqua Les Ennemis.

Les Illinois Miami, aussitôt qu'il virent l'armée au prise Lacherent Le pied pour se Vanger à ce qu'ils ont dit de la mort d'un Nommé duhaliés de fer,<sup>4</sup> un de leur chef qu'un français avoit tué l'été dernier, Cette fuite de ses Sauvages Rendant nos forces, trop inégales à celles de nos ennemis qui étoient auparavant déjà supérieur en monde déterminâ M. Dartaguiette à Se Battre en Retraite pour joindre les Poudres qu'il l'avoit laissée à Un quart de lieu des Ennemis, qui poursuivirent les

1. From Paris, National Archives; Colonies; F. 3, 24; folios 256-7.

2. An anspessade was an inferior officer—the same as a lancepsade, or lance corporal. "Parisien" is obviously a nickname for some Frenchman who came from Paris.

3. Ecorse à Prudhomme was a locality on the east bank of the Mississippi, in what is now Tipton County, Tennessee, at which the

ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH AND OF THE DEFEAT  
OF D'ARTAGUIETTE, BY PARISIEN<sup>1</sup>

Recountal of the defeat of the French army which left the Illinois country under the command of M. D'Artaguiette, Major, to go against our enemies the Chickasaws, by the said Parisien, Anspessade,<sup>2</sup> who escaped; of the overthrow of the army, composed of 130 French, towit: 41 regulars, including the commandant, the officers, sergeants and corporals; 99 volunteers of the militia, including the officers; 38 Iroquois, brave men who stood firm; 38 Arkansaws; 190 Illinois and Miami Indians, making 396 men.

It left the Illinois country on February 20; arrived at Ecorse à Prudhomme<sup>3</sup> the 23d of the same month; left there the 25th to proceed to the country of the Chickasaws, where it arrived the 25th of March, Palm Sunday, when it attacked the enemy. The Illinois and Miamis, as soon as they saw the army in the fight, took flight, in order to avenge, as they said, the death of one called Duhalies de Fer,<sup>4</sup> one of their chiefs, whom a Frenchman had killed the summer preceding. The flight of the Indians leaving our forces too inferior to those of our enemies, who were before this already greater in number, made M. D'Artaguiette determine to call a retreat, in order to join the powder guard, which he had left a quarter of a league from the enemy, who pursued the

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French for some time maintained a fort. It was below the mouth of the Hatchie river, probably at or near the town of Randolph. The French name presumably means "Sage Bark."

4. The name Duhalies de Fer appears to mean "Sunburn of Iron," which may refer to the color of some sunburn he had experienced.

françois avec tant de fureur jusqu'a Cet endroit qu'ils en tuerent 42 à 45 dont les Remarquable Sont.

M. Dartaguiette Comdt. qui Reçut trois coups de fusils, le premier dans la main, le second dans la cuisse, et le troisième a travers le corps.

M. De St. Ange le fils per. Lieutenant.

Mr. Vincenne Sous Lieutenant

Mr. De Coulange Enseigne en pied

Mr. Lagranier Enseigne en Second.

M. Contigny Enseigne.

Six Cadets

#### Les Officiers de Milices

M. Des Essarts Capitaines

M. Estaing Langlois Lieutenant

M. Carrier le Vieux

#### Prisonnier

Esclave, Le R. P. Jesuites, Senat, aumonier.

M. Dutisnay, Offer. Dinfanterie

LaLande capne. de Milice.

5 à 6 Soldats.<sup>1</sup>

Les Ennemis ont continué Leurs avantages en Se Rendant maitres des poudres de la quantité de 450 L, 1200 L de balles, 30 pots Eau de vie, onze Chevaux, tous les Vivres et hardres, que chaque soldats ou françois de milices avoit, ceux qui ont Echappée, se sont sauvés en Braquêt et poursuivis pendant tout le jour et Sans une plüie qui dura depuis dix heures du matin jusqu'a 7 heures du Soir. Il ne se Seroit pas sauvé um Seul françois.

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1. For further details of this affair, and the persons engaged,

French to that place with so great fury that they killed 42 to 45 of them, of whom the most notable are—

M. D'Artaguiette, Commandant, who received three gunshot wounds, the first in the hand, the second in the thigh, and the third through the body.

M. De Saint Ange, the son, first lieutenant.

M. Vincennes, sublieutenant.

M. De Coulange, infantry ensign.

M. Lagranier, second ensign.

M. Contigny, ensign.

Six cadets.

#### OFFICERS OF THE MILITIA

M. Des Essarts, captain.

M. Estaing Langlois, lieutenant.

M. Carrier, the senior.

#### PRISONERS (enslaved)

The reverend Jesuit Father Senat, chaplain.

M. Dutisnay, infantry officer.

Lalande, captain of militia.

Five or six soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

The enemy enhanced their victory by gaining possession of powder to the amount of 450 pounds, 1200 pounds of bullets, 30 jugs of brandy, 11 horses, and all the provisions and clothes which individual soldiers, or Frenchmen of the militia had. Those who escaped fled with only the clothing they had on, and were pursued all day; and, but for a rain which lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening, there would not have been a single Frenchman saved.

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see Ind. Hist. Soc. Publications, Vol. 7, pp. 97-105.

Le Village des Chicachas ou toute la Nation S'étoit Rassemblée lorsque L'armée la attaqué, est en forme de fer à cheval. Il est si grand que nous avons eû peine de'en trouver L'entrée Il y avoit plussieurs anglois soit traiteur ou autres qui ont eû l'audace de Venir Arracher et fouler au pied le pavillon françois, qu'un Iroquois avoit planté proche leur fort. Ils ont été payés de leurs Efronteries deux furent tués Sur le champ. Ledit parisien Raporte qu'il y avoit en chemin pour joindre M. Dartaguiette M. de Monchervau, avec 60 hommes, et M. De Grandpré, Commandant aux arcansa, avec 120 hommes, qui ayant appris la défaite de l'armée, s'en sont Retourné. Il ajoute que les chicachas, ont plus perduë de monde que les françois dans le combat qui dura, depuis la pointe du jour Jusqu'a neuf heures, d'autres Rapporte qu'il y avoit parmi Les chicachas Un Renfort considérable des chéraquis nation dévoué aux anglois a la sollicitation desquels Ces Indions Se Sont Rendus ce qui cadre avec le Rapport que plusieurs Chactas Ont fait à M. De Bienville De même qu'a Moy.

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RAPPORT DE RICHARVILLE SUR L'ENGAGEMENT  
D'ARTAGUIETTE CONTRE LES CHICACHAS<sup>1</sup>  
(1739, Juin 10)

Le Sr. Drouët de Richarville qui S'Est trouvé dans L'affaire de M. Dartaguiette contre les Chicachas au mois de mars 1736. Est arrive a Montréal le 10e Juin

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1. From Paris, National Archives, Colonies, F 3 24, folios 252-4.  
2. There were several Drouets de Richardville in Canada and the Mississippi Valley, and this one is not definitely identified.



The village of the Chickasaws, where all of the nation were assembled when the army attacked it, it is in the shape of a horseshoe. It is so large that we had trouble in finding the entrance to it. There were many English there, traders and others, who had the audacity of coming to tear down and trample upon the French flag which an Iroquois had set up near their fort. They were repaid for their insults; two were killed on the field.

The said Parisien reports that there were on the way to join M. D'Artaguiette, M. De Monchervau, with 60 men, and M. De Grandpre, commandant at the Arkansaws, with 120 men, who, having heard of the defeat of the army, turned back. He adds that the Chickasaws lost more men killed than the French, in the battle, which lasted from daybreak until nine o'clock. Others report that there were among the Chickasaws a considerable reinforcement of Cherokees, devoted to the English, at whose request these Indians had come; which agrees with the information which several Choctaws gave M. De Bienville, as well as myself.

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#### REPORT OF RICHARDVILLE ON D'ARTAGUIETTE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CHICKASAWS<sup>1</sup>

Sr. Drouet de Richardville<sup>2</sup> who took part in the expedition of M. D'Artaguiette against the Chickasaws in

<sup>1</sup>Very probably he was the one who located at Vincennes, and was left in command there by St. Ange when he went to Fort Chartres in 1764.

1739 par la voye du fort St. Frédéric, conduit par le Sr. Dartigny.

Il raporteque le mars 1736 a L'action de Mr. Dartaguiette, trois de ses freres y furent tués. Et luy fut blessé de deux coups de feu. L'un au bras gauche, L'autre dans le bas Ventre Et d'un coup de flèche au poignet droit, ce qui ne L'Empêcha pas de se déffendre, il fut pris les armes a la main par trois Chicachas qui L'amenerent dans le Village Eloigné d'un quart de Lieüe du Champ de Bataille, avec vingt deux françois dont vingt ont Ete brûlés, Entr' autres.

Le Pere Senate Jésuite  
Mrs. Dartaguiette  
De Vincennes  
De Coulanges  
De St. Ange fils  
Du Tisné  
D Esgly  
De Tonty le Cadet

Ces messieurs furent brûlés avec le Révérend Pere Le Même jour de L'Action, depuis trois heures apres midy jusques vers minuit. Les autres françois Brûlés Etoient des officiers et Soldats de Milice.

Le Sr. de Courselas ou Coustillas officier de la Louïsiannie fut brûlé trois jours après au grand village avec un Iroquois du Sault St. Louïs, Led. Sr. de Courelas, avoit Eté nommé pour la garde des Poudres avec trente cinq hommes, Et S'Etant Egaré, il Se rendit au Village des Chicachas ne Sachant où il alloit, les trente cinq françois se sont retirés Sans que le Sr. de Richarville ait pû Sçavoir ce qu'ils Sont devenus.

March, 1736, arrived in Montreal June 10th, 1739, by way of Fort St. Frederic, conducted by Sr. D'Artigny.

He reports that in March, 1736, in D'Artaguiette's attack, three of his brothers were killed and he himself suffered two gunshot wounds, one in the left arm and the other in the abdomen, and an arrow wound in the right wrist, which did not keep him from defending himself. He was captured while fighting, by three Chickasaws, who brought him into the village, a quarter league distant from the field of battle, with twenty-two Frenchmen, of whom twenty were burned, among whom were—

Father Senat, a Jesuit.

Messrs. D'Artaguiette,

De Vincennes,

De Coulanges,

De St. Ange, the son,

Du Tisné,

D'Esgly,

De Tonty, the cadet (younger son).

These gentlemen were burned, along with the Reverend Father, from three in the afternoon until about midnight. The other French burned were officers and soldiers of the militia.

Sieur de Courselas, or Coustillas, an officer of Louisiana, was burned three days later in the Grand Village, with an Iroquois from Sault St. Louis. Said Sieur de Courselas had been made guard of the powder, with thirty-five men, and, having lost his way, went to the village of the Chickasaws, not knowing where he was going. The thirty-five French retreated, otherwise Sieur de Richardville might have known what became of them.

Le Sr. de Richarville fût conduit Et mis dans la Cabane du Chêf du Village de Jantalla, ou il a Eté gardé a veuë pendant Six mois par les jeunes gens, après ce tems la il a vécu En pleine Liberté avec les Chicachas Et a chassé avec Eux.

Après dix huit mois de Séjour avec ces Sauvages, il s'est sauvé du Village avec le nommé Pierre D. Courteoreille Soldat de la garnison des Illinois, per le Conseil d'un traiteur Anglois qui luy dit la chemin quil devoit prendre, Et ayant fait quarante Lieuës, il rencontra des Traiteurs Anglois de la Géorgie qui les menerent chez Mr. James Ogletorphe Commandant En Chef les Troûpes de sa Majesté Britannique, qui La racheté des Indiens Chicachas qui Etoient Venûs le reclamer, il luy a donné un Passeport le 27 9bre 1738 (representé par le Sr. de Richarville) qui luy permet de passer par la Virginie Et de la Virginie En Canada.

Pierre D Courte Oreille a du S'Embarquer En Géorgie pour aller rejoindre Sa famille a Paris, Et le Sr. de Richarville a passé par la Caroline, La Virginie, Maryland, Pensilvanie, Neufyorch, Albanie, Le Fort St. Frederic et Enfin a Montréal.

Le Sr. de Richarville raporte que des Ecores à Prudhomme En tirant Vers L'Est, il y a neuf Villages Chicaches a deux, trois et quatre Arpens les uns des autres, Le grand Village Est a une demie lieüe de ceux-cy, outre un Village de Natchez qui Est voisin.

Ils Etoient en ce tems la Environ Six cent guerriers y compris les Natchez qui Sont en très petit nombre Il y a neuf forts comme neuf Villages, et autour de ces forts En dehors sont les Cabanes. Ces forts sont des Quarrés

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1. This refers presumably to the arpent de Paris, which was used by the French in America, and is equivalent to 84 acres; as

Sieur de Richardville was led away, and put in the cabin of the chief of the village of Jantalla, where he was watched for six months by the young men; after which he lived with full liberty among the Chickasaws and hunted with them.

After eighteen months stay among the Indians he escaped from the village with one called Pierre de Courtoreille, a soldier of the garrison of the Illinois, by the help of an English trader, who told them the route they should take; and having made forty leagues they met some English traders from Georgia, who took them to Mr. James Oglethorpe, Commandant in chief of the troops of his British majesty, who ransomed them from the Chickasaw Indians who came to claim them. He gave him a passport the twenty-seventh of September, 1738 (displayed by Sieur de Richardville) which permitted him to pass through Virginia and from Virginia into Canada.

Pierre de Courte Oreille had to embark in Georgia to join his family in Paris, and Sieur de Richardville went through Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, Albany, Fort St. Frederick, and finally to Montreal.

Sieur de Richardville reports that from Ecorse à Prudhomme, stretching eastward, there are nine Chickasaw villages, at two, three and four arpents<sup>1</sup> distant from one another. The Grand Village is a half league from these, beyond a village of the Natchez, which is near. There were there at that time about six hundred warriors, including the Natchez, who are in small number. There are nine forts for the nine villages, and around, outside these forts, are the cabins.

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<sup>1</sup>a measure of length it is the width of a square arpent, or about 12 rods.



Sans Bastions, de cinquante a Soixante pieds de face. L'Enceinte Est de Pieux de Sept a huit pieds hors de terre, Soutenûs par derriere avec des fourches, ces Pieux Sont redoublés Et l'on y a pratiqué des meurtrières, ils Sont Enfoncés de deux pieds et demy dans la terre Et ne sont terrassés ny dedans ny dehors.

Les Cabanes qui sont autour de ces forts sont rondes contruits de Pieux de Chêne. Convertes de Terre En Dôme Et Surcouvertes de paille, les Ouvertures Entre les pieces Sont Bousillées, les portes en Sont Si basses et Si Etroites qu'on ny peut Entrer que de côté Et en se baissant, il n'y a point de Souterrain, Le plancher Est au Rés de Chaussés de la Campagne Et il n'y a de jour que par la porte.

Il n'y a point de Rivières dans tous ces Villages, ils ont Seulement queleques Sources ou ils pratiquent des puits qui leur fournissent de L'Eau.

Ces sauvages ne font pas beaucoup de Bled d'inde et vivent de Chasse, la pluspart du tems ils vont Sept a huit Ensemble, Et Sur le soir ils se rassemblent Et couchent dans quelques Ravines de Cannes, crainte de Surprise Et ils n'y font point de feu.

Ils ont beaucoup de Chevaux, les femmes S'En Servent comme les hommes, il y a telle Cabane où il y en a jusqu'a Six, le fourage Se Trouve partout.

Tous les Guerriers ont des fusils, de la poudre et des Balles, que les Anglois leur fournissent En troc de Pelleteries, mais depuis L'Affaire de M. Dartaguiette et celle de M. de Bienville, ils ne font pas grande chasse.

Le Sr. de Richarville dit que ces Sauvages luy ont dit plusieurs fois, que si les françois vouloient avoir La Paix,

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1. The French pied, or foot, was about eighteen inches, and

The forts are square, without bastions, fifty or sixty feet<sup>1</sup> across the front. The enclosure is of posts, reaching seven or eight feet above, propped up at the back by forked stakes. These posts are redoubled, and are pierced with loop-holes; they are set two and a half feet in the ground, and they cannot be thrown down either from the inside or the outside. The cabins, which are around these forts, are round, made of oak posts, covered with mud in the shape of a dome, and covered over that with straw; the interstices are filled with mud; the doorways are so low and narrow that one can only enter sidewise and stooping; there is nothing underground; the floor is level with the ground. There is no opening except the door.

There are no streams in any of the villages; they have only some springs where they make wells which supply them water. These Indians do not raise much maize, and live by the chase. Generally seven or eight go together and at night they come together and sleep in ravines of cane, and for fear of a surprise attack they make no fire. They have a great many horses; the women use them just as the men do. There is many a cabin where there are at least six of them. Forage may be found everywhere. All the warriors have guns, powder, and bullets, which the English furnish them in exchange for furs, but since the affair of M. D'Artaguiette and that of M. de Bienville, they do not go on the great hunt.

Sieur de Richardville says that these Indians told him many times that if the French desired peace they had only to come with a pavillion, a peace pipe, and wampum one-half should be added to these figures.

ils n'avoient qu'a venir avec un pavillon, Calumet et Porcelaine pour marquer le chemin, qu'ils, la feroient, que si le françois leur accordoit, ils Livreroient les Natchez a Mr. De Bienville Sans qu'il S'En mêlat.

Les Natchez Sont chés les Chicachas et traités comme Esclaves, ils les font travailler, Piocher &, ils sont Environ quarante dans leurs Villages.

Les chicachas ont pour alliés Et amis les Chéraquis qui sont a quatre Journées d'Eux, ils viennent de tems en tems chanter le Calumet Chés Eux, ce qui Est arrivé deux fois pendant le Séjour que le Sr. de Richarville y a fait, il y a toujourns vû tant qu'il y a resté un traiteur Anglois, avec trois, quatre, Et cinq Engagés dans Chaque Village.

Les Chicachas Sont toujourns dans la défiance, les Chêfs disent tous les Soirs aux Jeunes gens de mettre leurs fusils Contre leur Tête.

Ils ont dit souvent qu'ils Sçavent bien que les François les mangeront, mais qu'ils en mangeront beaucoup auparavant.

Les neuf Villages Sont dans une plaine, coupés par de petits Côteaux, d'un Côté Est le bois a une bonne portée de fusil, Et de L'Autre Est La prairie, cependant les deux premiers Villages que l'on rencontre en partant des Ecores à Prudhomme pour y aller, Sont beaucoup plus Eloignés du Bois.

Des Ecores a Prudhomme aux neuf Villages Le Sr. de Richarville Estime qu'il peut y avoir Soixante Lieües, chemin bon Et mauvais, païs bas Et fremieres.

Les Chicachas ne font aucun Usage de leurs Chevaux pour le fait de la guerre, mais ils ont dit plusieurs fois au Sr. De Richarville que lorsque les françois viendront les Investir, ils les renfermeront dans leurs forts pour leur

to mark the road which they would make; and that if the French came to an agreement with them, they would surrender the Natchez to M. de Bienville, without him troubling himself about it. The Natchez live with the Chickasaws, and are treated as slaves. They make them work, dig, etc. There are about forty of them in their villages.

The Chickasaws have for allies and friends the Cherokees, who are about four days journey from them. They come from time to time to smoke the peace-pipe with them, an event which occurred twice during *Sieur de Richardville's* sojourn there. There was always to be seen, as long as he remained there, an English trader, with three, four, or five men employed, in each village. The Chickasaws are always distrustful; the chiefs tell the young men every evening to place their guns opposite their heads. They often said that they knew well that the French would eat them, and that they will eat many of them first.

The nine villages are in a plain cut by several little ridges; from one east hill the wood has a good range for gunshot, and from the other east one the prairie; however the first two villages which one comes to, after leaving *Ecorse à Prudhomme* to go there, are much farther away from the wood. From the *Ecorse à Prudhomme* to the nine villages, *Sieur de Richardville* thinks must be sixty leagues, road good and bad, the ground low and overgrown with ash.

The Chickasaws make no use of their horses in warfare, but it was told *Sieur de Richardville* many times that when the French came to besiege them they would keep them in their forts to use for food in their need. These people said that they had lost only one man in M.

Servir de Nourriture dans le besoin. Ces gens la ont dit n'avoir perdu qu'un homme a L'Attaque de M. de Bienville.

Et a celle de Mr. Dartaguiette vingt de tués Et trente de Blessés. Dix Mississagués qui arrivant de chés les Chicachas ont amené un prisonnier et trois Chevelures.

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ETAT DES TROUPES ET MILICES QUI ONT FAIT  
La CAMPAGNE DES CHICACHAS EN 1736<sup>1</sup>

Etats Des troupes & Milices qui ont fait la Campagne des Tchikachas.

Compagnie des Grenadiers Composée de..	30	francois
& 15 Suisses .....	45	Hommes
Compagnie de Lusser .....	31	
Compe. de Custillas .....	30	
Compe. de Petit .....	30	
Compe. de Berthet .....	30	
Compe. de Bombelles .....	30	
Compe. de Benac .....	31	
Compe. de Membrède .....	30	
Compe. de Leblanc .....	30	
Compe. Suisse .....	130	
Compe. de Milice de la Nelle. Orleans.....	45	
Compe. de Milice de la Mobille .....	40	
Volontaires & Voyageurs .....	42	

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544 hommes.

Messrs. Les Officers ne Sont pas Compris dans Cet Etat, et il en faut deduire 20 hommes restés a la Gardes des Voitures et 10 malades Reste a 514 Effectifs.

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1. Paris Arch. Nat. Colonies F 3, 24, F. 243.



Bienville's attack, and in that of M. D'Artaguiette twenty were killed and thirty were wounded.

Ten Missasaugas who arrived from near the Chickasaws brought a prisoner and three scalps.

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STATE OF THE TROOPS AND MILITIA WHO MADE  
THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CHICKA-  
SAWS (1736)

Company of Grenadiers, composed of 30 French and 15 Swiss .....	45 men
Company of Lusser .....	31
Company of Custillas .....	30
Company of Petit .....	30
Company of Berthet .....	30
Company of Bombelles .....	30
Company of Benac .....	31
Company of Membrede .....	30
Company of Leblanc .....	30
Swiss company .....	130
Company of Militia from New Orleans .....	45
Company of Militia from Mobile .....	40
Volunteers and Voyageurs .....	42
	<hr/>
	544 men

The officers are not included in this statement; and there should be deducted 20 men left to guard the baggage, and ten sick, leaving 514 effective men.







THE ENVIRONMENT OF  
ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN INDIANA

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF  
THE DE BRULER FAMILY

BY

JOHN E. IGLEHART  
EUGENIA EH RMANN

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JOHN E. IGLEHART

Executive Mansion

June 17. 1861

Hon. Sec. of War

My dear Sir

With your concu-

rence, and that of the Govern-  
or of Indiana, I am in favor  
of accepting into what we  
call the three year service,

any number not exceeding four  
ad<sup>ditional</sup> ~~ad~~ <sup>Regiments</sup> ~~Regiments~~,  
from that State. Probably they  
should come from the triang-  
lar region between the Ohio &

Wabash rivers, including my  
own old boyhood home—

Please see Hon. C. M. Allen,  
Speaker of the Ia. H. R. and  
unless you perceive good reason

son to the country, make  
up an order for him accord-  
ing to the above -

Yours truly  
A. Lincoln

HOLOGRAPH LETTER, SIGNED, OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, REFERRING  
TO HIS "OLD BOYHOOD HOME" IN SOUTHWESTERN INDIANA.

By Courtesy of Arthur G. Mitten, Goodland, Indiana, Owner of the Original.

## THE ENVIRONMENT OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN INDIANA

BY JOHN E. IGLEHART

Before the organization of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, in 1920, Spencer County had been searched for historical material upon Abraham Lincoln, and much of little value had been written, but not much research had been made there by resident workers other than Mrs. Bess V. Ehrmann. This society early devoted its attention to what has been called "The Lincoln Inquiry." The thirteen years in which Abraham Lincoln lived in southern Indiana, years in which he developed from childhood to manhood, obviously contributed much to the formation of his character, his ideas, and his habits. The Inquiry concerns itself with the influences, general and personal, to which he was exposed during these years. The difficulties of the Inquiry are great: much of the evidence was never put into writing, much that was written has perished, and the Spencer County courthouse, with many records of importance, was burned shortly after the Lincolns moved away. At present, we are working upon two lines; the general condition of frontier pioneer life in which Abraham Lincoln grew to maturity, and the biographies of the men whom the Lincolns knew or might fairly be presumed to know. Both of these lines are involved in a study of Lemuel Q. DeBruler and his family.

## THE FRONTIER

The frontier has of late years come to be recognized as one of the most important factors in American history. Its influence upon individual character is capable of scientific study; it need not be a matter of mere speculation.

Our western literature of the early time is scant, but there were a few writers whose vision was prophetic of the future, whose descriptions are applicable to the class of people who helped create the environment of Abraham Lincoln in Indiana, and who belonged to the locality and the people of whom Lowell speaks as "strong men with empires in their brains."

These writers forecast what appears to be the foundation of the doctrines of Frederick J. Turner and James Truslow Adams in their interpretation of the frontier in American history, doctrines original with this generation, but now almost universally accepted. Willis Mason West, in his *History of the American People*, says: "Dr. Turner is the first true interpreter of the frontier in our history."<sup>1</sup> Many other authorities might be cited, but the extraordinary recommendation of Turner by James Truslow Adams in his *Revolutionary New England*, applying Turner's doctrines to the history of New England, with his acknowledgement to Dr. Turner, is sufficient authority for my purpose.

Our earlier national histories were for the most part written by New Englanders from a sectional view point which overestimated Puritan influence in the development of national democracy and, so far as I have read, did not disclose the dominating influence of the pioneers even in the development of the states of the old Northwest Territory.<sup>2</sup> But before the New

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<sup>1</sup>Willis Mason West, *History of the American People*, 270 (New York, 1918.)

<sup>2</sup>Woodrow Wilson, "The Course of American History" in *Mere Literature and Other Essays*, 218 (Cambridge Press, 1896). Samuel McChord Crothers, "The Land of the Large and Charitable Air," in *The Pardoner's Wallett*, 148 (New York, 1905). John E. Iglehart, "The Coming of the English to Indiana in 1817 and Their Hoosier Neighbors," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XV, pp. 144, 146.



England historians and writers generally have seemed to take cognizance of Turner's great interpretation, Adams adopts it in principle as Turner applied it to the "New West." Adams accepts its great influence upon American democracy and American character, including the Atlantic Coast states, and applies this interpretation to the history of Revolutionary New England.<sup>3</sup>

The earlier eastern historians did scant justice to, and the American public was slow to recognize, the work of the western pioneer in American democracy. Full references have been made by me to this subject in printed addresses.<sup>4</sup> Evidences of a change of attitude are multiplying. The Columbia University Extension Home Study Department is now (1925) announcing a radio course upon "The Frontier in American History," in which attention is called to the continuing factors in the expansion of the American people from the time when a fringe of Europe was established along the Atlantic coastline of North America. "The main theme is to be the westward emigration, the occupation of a vast continent, the pressing forward of the frontiers and its part in the building of the

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<sup>3</sup>See the acknowledgment to Dr. Turner in James Truslow Adams, *Revolutionary New England, 1691-1776*, p. 9, note (The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1923). Mr. Adams' earlier work, *The Founding of New England* (1921) for which he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the best American history of the year 1921, is but a portion of Adams' history, completed in his *Revolutionary New England*, hailed by many as the best treatise on the history of New England in the seventeenth century written for scholar and general reader alike.

<sup>4</sup>Inaugural Address as President of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, February 23, 1920, Indiana Historical Commission, *Bulletin* No. 16, pp. 85 ff (October, 1922), *Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society*; Annual address of the President, January 31, 1922, *ibid.*, pp. 10-21; Annual address of the President, February 28, 1923, *Bulletin* No. 18, pp. 63-88, (October 1923), *Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society*; also *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XV, p. 144; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 138-39, wherein is criticized the attitude of Albert Bushnell Hart, who, as editor of Turner's *Rise of the New West*, ignores the vision of Turner upon which his fame must always rest, and upon which James Truslow Adams lays the foundation of his *Revolutionary New England*. See also paper of Mrs. Charles T. (Dierdre Duff) Johnson, "Moses Ashworth, Pioneer," *Bulletin* No. 18, p. 94 (October, 1923), *Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society*.

nation."<sup>5</sup> The book recommended for reading in the course, David S. Muzzey's *An American History*, seeks to represent "the newer tendencies in historical writing." Of three special features put forward, one is the emphasis "on the westward-moving frontier as the most constant and potent force in our history."<sup>6</sup> Lecture V of this course adopts the title Dr. Turner has given to his book, "The Rise of the New West," and suggests as readings to supplement the lecture, a large portion of Dr. Turner's book.

Mr. Simeon Strunsky, a very versatile and able essayist and book reviewer, and a regular contributor to the *New York Times Book Review*, in a recent article finds occasion to refer to the subject of the Frontier in American History, and writes of it as

one system which is in its beginnings but which seems to be rapidly forging to the front. It had its first application in the rewriting of the history of the American people. When fully developed it may come to be known as the Philosophy of the Frontier. The seed was sown a generation ago by Professor Turner's essay on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Among those who have cultivated the ground is Professor Paxson, whose latest volume on the subject has just won the Pulitzer prize in history. The pioneer in the role of chief architect of the national spirit and of the nation's annals, now confronts us in the textbooks everywhere; \* \* \* Recent historical writings have emphasized the importance of frontier conditions in the development of American life. \* \* \* Professor Turner and his successors have established beyond doubt that the frontier has been a force for democracy and radicalism in our history. It has nurtured a militant individualism, as against the trend in the older and richer part of the country toward caste and vested interest.<sup>7</sup>

A valuable scrap of testimony is furnished by a most unwilling witness, which adds to it weight for that reason. The only instance I have found anywhere of any person challenging the Turner doctrine, as it may for convenience be

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<sup>5</sup>The course is given by John A. Krout, instructor in History, Department of University Extension, Columbia University, from Station WEAf, New York, through the co-operation of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

<sup>6</sup>Editorial preface, revised edition, 1920.

<sup>7</sup>"About Books, More or Less: Frontiers and Limits," *New York Times Book Review*, July 5, 1925, p. 4.

called, is in a magazine article which, for the purpose of denying the truth of this doctrine and contradicting the weight of authority conceded to be wholly against the writer, states:

For thirty years American historical thought has been dominated by the frontier shibboleth. The theory means, in all essential particulars, that the controlling factor in American life and character has been the frontier. First pronounced by Professor Frederick J. Turner, at a meeting of the American Historical Association in 1892, it has come to be generally accepted and to serve as the chief guide to historical interpretation. No one has criticized it, no one has questioned it.<sup>8</sup>

William Henry Milburn, the blind man eloquent, and Judge James Hall lived among the western people, were in sympathy with them, and have left truthful descriptions of the pioneer in the old Northwest, as well as in Kentucky, where the Indian wars during the Revolution were, at so great cost, won chiefly by the backwoodsmen of the Alleghenies. Milburn's eloquent and profound interpretation of the life and character of the westerner, his description of the characteristics of the western mind and of the schooling of the wilderness are true to life, as are also Judge James Hall's fine descriptions of the western people among whom he lived.<sup>9</sup> We have also fair and impartial accounts of the backwoodsmen of the Alleghenies by Roosevelt, to whom the descendants of the "Men of the Western Waters," among whom are the active members of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, recognize a lasting obligation.

The western type of mind and character was fully developed in Abraham Lincoln. The educating influence of wilderness life affected him in his development in Spencer County from the age of seven to twenty-one; long before the latter age he showed a maturity far above that of the average man of twenty-one years.

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<sup>8</sup>John C. Almack, "The Shibboleth of the Frontier," in *The Historical Outlook*, May, 1925, p. 197. Dr. Almack is a professor of history at Leland Stanford University.

<sup>9</sup>See William Henry Milburn, *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1860), and *The Pioneer Preacher* (New York, 1858); James Hall, *Legends of the West* (Cincinnati, 1869), and *The Romance of Western History* (Cincinnati, 1869).

It had affected Lincoln's ancestors, who had been for several generations backwoodsmen of the Alleghenies and men of the western waters, so finely described by Roosevelt, and who, according to the same writer, were of a distinct race or type of men resembling each other more than they resembled pioneers in any other part of the country. It affected your ancestors and mine.

"The Lincoln type in figure, movement, features, facial make-up, simplicity of speech and thought, gravity of countenance, and integrity and truthfulness of life, as it stands accredited by the vast number of writers on Lincoln, is in a substantial degree to-day [and has been from the beginnings of the State] a Hoosier type in southern Indiana. It may still be found in the judge on the bench, the lawyer at the bar, the preacher in the pulpit, and others descended from pioneer stock who are forceful and intelligent leaders of the common people."<sup>10</sup>

The majesty and splendor of the lonely forest or boundless prairie, nature's primeval forms, yet untainted and undesecrated by the play of human passions and human appetites, fresh from the hand of the Creator, impart to the human soul a grandeur and a nobility of character scarcely acquired in the pursuits of trade or commerce, or in the common, fixed, and plodding occupations of every day life.

There is given a peculiar muscularity to the form, and vigor to the step, and freshness to the thought. The will is untrammelled, scarcely even limited by the thought of any impossibility; self-reliance is developed to the very highest point, with an independence of action and being outside of all human aids. The pioneer learns to preserve and cultivate the very utmost of the vast self-supporting powers of humanity. He must depend upon himself; if he is wanting to himself, he is lost.

A new country demands courage, decision, habits of keen

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<sup>10</sup>John F. Iglehart, "The Coming of the English to Indiana in 1817, and Their Hoosier Neighbors," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XV, p. 146.

and sleepless observation; fertility of resource and versatile employment of various powers to suit changing occasions, are the well-defined characteristics of pioneer life.<sup>11</sup>

There was a deep human sympathy between the western pioneers, who were compelled to share with each other, to aid each other in sickness and distress, far removed from the comforts and necessities of the older sections of the country.

Historians agree that the wilderness life of this period developed the individuality of the pioneer in an extraordinary manner, that he was impatient of restraint, which was in many forms so obnoxious to him that to escape it was one of his reasons for having left the Atlantic Coast or European life forever behind him. This applied to religious, social, economic, and political conditions, in which, as a pioneer in the remote backwoods on free land, under free institutions, he began life anew and created new conditions. He did this so well that he laid enduring foundations for an agricultural democracy which greatly modified the democracy of the Atlantic coast states, dominated as they were in so many particulars by the influences of European life.

New conditions, continually recurring with each advancing wave of western emigration, reacted continuously on the settlements farther east by modifying old conditions and creating conditions new in part in American democracy, bearing the impress in a substantial degree of the individuality of the pioneer.

The earlier generation may be described in Milburn's words as "men strong of frame, compact and muscular, Herculean of stature, of dauntless courage, of determination incapable of discouragement or fear, carrying their lives in their hands, ready, if necessary, to crimson the soil of that new world with their heart's blood. There is hardly a more striking commentary upon, or interpretation of, the pristine radical elements of Anglo-Saxon character in the whole range of the records of our race, than is to be found in the history of

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<sup>11</sup>Milburn, *Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley*, 253.



its occupancy of Kentucky and the Northwestern Territory."<sup>12</sup>

They were—women as well as men—heroes of heroic blood, who left the Atlantic Coast states, dissatisfied with political and economic conditions and the poisonous germs of European civilization found in Colonial life, as well as European life, and who sought the wilderness far beyond the mountains for a new beginning for themselves and their children. They felt the breaking of the ties with kindred whom they scarcely expected to see (and seldom did) again, as the pathetic letters I have found among their papers show. They left all the comforts of old world community life behind them to struggle with the forces of nature and the danger of wild beasts even after the Indians were gone.

Women as well as men were heroic. Both of my grandmothers succumbed prematurely to the hardships of wilderness life. One left an infant child; the other did not live to see all her children grown to full age. My mother said that while she lived in the wilderness of Warrick County, until she moved to Evansville in 1849, she always kept a watchful eye upon her little ones who were able to wander in the dooryard for fear some straggling bear or wolf would pick them up.

Such was the schooling of the wilderness and of frontier life which the DeBrulers learned. Such also was the schooling of the parents from whom they inherited not only distinguished ability, but sturdy character and heroic blood as well.

Of these writes Walt Whitman, the poet, prophet, and interpreter of the life of the new race in the new world created in the advancing frontier:

All the past we leave behind,  
We debouch upon a newer mightier world, varied world,  
Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of labor and the march,  
Pioneers! O pioneers!

Have the elder races halted?  
Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied over there beyond the seas?

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<sup>12</sup>Milburn, *Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley*, 255.

We take up the task eternal, and the burden and the lesson,  
Pioneers! O pioneers!

O you daughters of the West!  
O you young and elder daughters! O you mothers and you wives!  
Never must you be divided, in our ranks you move united,  
Pioneers! O pioneers!

O to die advancing on!  
Are there some of us to droop and die? has the hour come?  
Then upon the march we fittest die, soon and sure the gap is fill'd,  
Pioneers! O pioneers!

#### NEIGHBORS OF THE LINCOLNS IN INDIANA

I was once asked, in the spirit of critical inquiry, to name some person of importance in southwestern Indiana whom Lincoln might have known. The absence of easily accessible historical data on that point, and a failure to appreciate scattered facts known to exist and now being gathered together, seemed to raise a presumption that Lincoln's associations in Spencer County were almost wholly among the lowest type of society, that type described by Dr. Frederick J. Turner, the father of Western history, as only the "scum which the advancing wave of civilization bore before it."

I regard it, therefore, as one of the most important, if not the most important, parts of the "Lincoln Inquiry" to collect a series of biographies of known neighbors of the Lincoln family in Indiana.<sup>13</sup> My preparation of this sketch of the DeBruler family has opened to me a line of work in this

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<sup>13</sup>There exists yet, not given to the public, a mass of priceless source material relating to the early life of Abraham Lincoln, which has been gathered during a life of earnest devotion to the work by Jesse W. Weik of Greencastle, who collaborated with Herndon in the invaluable life of Lincoln and who is recognized as having contributed independently in his publication to Lincoln literature, as well as to preserving this source material, much of it personally gathered by Mr. Weik, and to this he has added by preserving original writings of the earliest work dating since Lincoln's death. It is an enormous compilation of about twelve hundred pages, which was made at the right time when no other person had collected, and which cannot now be duplicated. An interpretation of this evidence when Mr. Weik gives it to the public, which it is hoped he may do, will be in my opinion necessary to an understanding of the life and character of Abraham Lincoln.

direction more fruitful than I had anticipated, a line of controlling importance in the Inquiry and one which must be followed up. Enough has already been accomplished to make the assumption alluded to utterly untenable.

Mrs. Bess V. Ehrmann in a paper upon "The Lincoln Inquiry" read at a meeting of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, October 14, 1924, near Lincoln City in Spencer County, gave a description of, and bibliographical references to, the thirty-four papers on the records of the society at that time. Together with the poems of Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon upon Lincoln read at the same meeting, it has attracted attention both in and out of the state.<sup>14</sup> Calls from students and prominent historical workers for copies of it show the interest it has aroused. Two editorials may be cited which express acceptance of our interpretation of the data presented:

In this exceedingly valuable paper Mrs. Ehrmann summarized all the papers presented to or written by members of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society upon the Lincoln family in Indiana. The mere recital showed what a large part the society has played in establishing the reputation of the Lincoln family and of Abraham Lincoln himself, as respectable members of an energetic, forward-looking community, whose worth was recognized by their neighbors.<sup>15</sup>

As a result of the "Inquiry" thirty-four papers have been written in the last four years, some of them published in the local press. Some of them give the history of families with whom Lincoln was intimately associated. Others record stories of Lincoln which have been handed down in families living in the Lincoln neighborhood; some include letters and documents of Lincoln which have been in the possession of people in Spencer county; sketches of men of prominence with whom Lincoln came in contact in his residence there. . . .

[The conclusion reached in this inquiry as summarized by Mrs. Ehrmann is] that Lincoln availed himself of all the opportunities existing in pioneer life in that section when he lived in Indiana. He knew many of the people who lived within a reasonable distance of his home,

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<sup>14</sup>This paper and Mrs. Bacon's poems were printed in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XXI, pp. 11f. Mrs. Bess V. Ehrmann, from the beginning of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, has been among the leaders and practical workers in it, always on the executive committee, and for several years secretary of the society. No person has been more active in its work.

<sup>15</sup>Christopher B. Coleman, Director of the Indiana Historical Commission in *Indiana History Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 2 (November, 1924), pp. 23-24.

which for that time might be considered fifty miles. He knew about all who were worth knowing among them. Abraham Lincoln knew pretty well all that was worth knowing in his locality in 1830 and within that radius, and all that could be learned by reading the papers, intelligent inquiry and personal acquaintance with the better class of people whose history has not (with honorable exceptions) been properly recorded up to the organization of this society. This work, which is not yet finished, may well be suggested as a working model for any local historical society in the state.<sup>16</sup>

Judging from Mrs. Ehrmann's paper, it seems that the final solution of the Lincoln Inquiry will not be a difficult matter, nor long delayed, but only awaits the continuation of this society's work. This fact is recognized by historians, such as Ida Tarbell, who are enthusiastically in sympathy with our work.

After the publication of Mrs. Bess Ehrmann's paper and the poems on Lincoln in Indiana by Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon, I sent a copy of the magazine to Miss Ida Tarbell, who supplementing many previous splendid tributes to the work of our society, says in part in her letter of May 13, 1925, to the writer:

I like Mrs. Bacon's poem, and Mrs. Ehrmann's paper is a valuable contribution. I am more and more interested in your Lincoln inquiry, and the longer I roll over the idea in my mind, the more convinced I am not only that it is the right approach to any study of Lincoln in South-western Indiana, but that it is probably a much wider and richer field than any of our biographers have yet appreciated. I hope you will keep the Inquiry alive. With the Society behind you, as you say it is, and with such a fine corps of workers, I am sure you are going to convince the thoughtful people, sooner or later, that all of our present treatments of Abraham Lincoln in Indiana are inadequate.

Ida Tarbell's book, *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, printed in advance in various newspapers in the summer and fall of 1923, and issued in book form February, 1924, contained, according to the announcements, and correctly, two reasons for a new book on Lincoln, one the story of seven generations of Lincoln's courageous, hardy, industrious pioneer ancestors, and the other the story of his own early manhood. The latter, the story of Lincoln in Indiana (chapter 12, p. 139) is the heart of

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<sup>16</sup>Kate Milner Rabb, in the *Indianapolis Star*, November 26, 1924.

her book. On page 150 she discloses a new field to biographers in the interpretations and work of this Society.

Carl Sandburg's new book, *The Unfathomed Lincoln*, is now (while this article is in the hands of the printer) coming from the press in advance publication, beginning in the October, 1925 number of the *Pictorial Review*, with an important foreword in the preceding September number. The second installment, the November number, contains a most important summary of facts and knowledge and opportunities accessible to and appropriated by young Lincoln after he left Kentucky in 1816 and before he moved to Illinois in 1830. Sandburg's story so far printed (December, 1925) is freed from the bias of the Kentucky historians and is one showing deep human sympathies, and to some extent the vision of an interpreter of many vital influences which undoubtedly greatly influenced the "awakening of Abraham Lincoln," as Tarbell's chapter twelve calls it.

The history of "Lincoln in Indiana" has been written by Rev. J. Edward Murr, a southern Indiana man from the Lincoln country and of the Lincoln type, a man of high character who has spent much time among Lincoln's neighbors, in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, beginning with volume 13, page 307, and continued in volume 14, pages 13 and 148. This work, like everything else relating to Abraham Lincoln in Indiana, has attracted too little attention, but must soon receive full consideration, for its value is very great. He also has in a sense the vision of an interpreter; some of his conclusions are, in my judgment, of real value and will be ultimately accepted by the historians as correct, and some evidence preserved by him is of supreme value.

In my address delivered November 17, 1925, at Princeton, Indiana, at the fall meeting of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, not yet published, I spoke *inter alia* at some length upon this important subject, embracing also certain later and more specific statements by the Reverend Mr. Murr made by him at my request in matters of evidence of supreme importance already referred to in his history.



Information is accumulating about the outstanding contemporaries of Abraham Lincoln in Spencer County; Lemuel Q. and James P. DeBruler, Daniel Grass, Thomas B., and Alexander Britton, John W. Graham, John Pitcher, and others.<sup>17</sup> These men, with many others then in Spencer County, were equal to the best pioneer settlers in any of the new states. To them public attention is now directed in the searchlight of the Lincoln Inquiry. I have no doubt Abraham Lincoln knew most, if not all, of these people. They were not hard to get acquainted with in that wilderness life.

In addition it is contemplated by some of our ablest workers to have sketches, more or less complete as facts justify, of a large number of the prominent families living between Corydon and New Harmony, and north as far as Jasper, then called Enlow's Hill. There was free communication between the Lincolns and the Enlows. This would aid in building up the intellectual side of Lincoln's environments. It would furnish side lights that led Lincoln in his search for knowledge.

The movement of persons and trade north, south, east, and west in southwestern Indiana, influencing the people of Spencer County in the third decade and connecting them directly with Boonville, Evansville, Princeton, New Harmony, and Vincennes, furnished full opportunities necessary for a man of Abraham Lincoln's type, as the world now knows him, to obtain the experience, information, and knowledge which he is known to have acquired when he reached the state of Illinois, and for the existence of which no other explanation has been or can be given. By this I mean that for the space of fifty miles or greater in all directions from the Lincoln farm, contact with people and sources of information were accessible to Lincoln. Vincennes was still the mother city of a large territory. Nearly all of the public men of Indiana, commonwealth builders, were then living in southern Indiana.

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<sup>17</sup>See list in *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 258 ff (Chicago, 1885).

a considerable number of them in Vincennes and Corydon, some of them in New Harmony, Princeton, Evansville, Boonville, and Rockport. There was a stage line from Evansville to Vincennes after 1824, continuously making two trips a week each way until railroads were built. Evansville was the receiving and discharging point for New Orleans, and the Ohio River traffic for Vincennes and southwestern Indiana and intermediate territory, as well as a wider territory, as newspaper advertisements of the time show.

New Harmony was during that time at its zenith, a point of world-wide importance, where resided men of national reputation and where high intellectual standards were maintained in both magazine and newspaper literature then published. In 1822, a road was built from New Harmony to Boonville, across Vanderburgh County, in two sections, one section extending from the Warrick County line to the Posey County line, centering in Saundersville, the heart of the first British settlement in Indiana.

Corydon was the state capital until 1825, and after the capital was moved to Indianapolis, it was still the residence of many prominent people, and travel was continuous between that point and Vincennes and Evansville by roads which went past the Lincoln farm.

As a medium of communication and as a present source of information, attention should be called to the weekly newspapers published from 1820 to 1830 in Evansville, New Harmony, Vincennes and Corydon, the files of which are now accessible, and perhaps for other periods also, though complete files are not preserved.<sup>18</sup>

George R. Wilson of Dubois County, high authority on the history of this period and location, in a letter to the writer, says that there is proof that the Lincolns had acquaintances in Dubois County.

While revising this paper, I have, in answer to a letter

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<sup>18</sup>*Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XV, pp. 138-43, and notes. Indiana Historical Commission, *Bulletin* No. 18, pp. 73 ff, *Proceedings of Southwestern Indiana Historical Society*.

informing him of my intention to quote him, received from Mr. Wilson a letter almost all of which I quote:

Judge L. Q. DeBruler was a leading lawyer and judge at the Dubois county bar. The name DeBruler is remembered in Dubois county with high honors and profound respect. A few American pioneers of the family name yet live in Dubois county and they are unusually highly respected.

The Condit's were hotel people at Jasper. It seems to me I can locate a Condit grave among the Enlows, in the City Cemetery at Jasper. James H. Condit in 1840, conducted the Indiana Hotel, where it now stands, at the S. W. corner of 5th and Jackson Street, Jasper. When our courthouse was destroyed by fire August 17, 1839, court was held at the Condit Hotel, and Judge L. Q. DeBruler was an attorney at that court.<sup>19</sup>

Dubois county was unusually closely connected with Spencer and Warrick counties. We drew many of our American pioneers from Spencer and Warrick. Before 1830, there were no Germans in Dubois county. When they came many Americans returned to Spencer and Warrick counties.

There came from Warrick county (as land owners) such men as John J. Chappell, Jerome B. Bristow, Byram E. L. Condit, David Evans, John Armstrong Graham, Christopher C. Heath, Sam'l A. Hull, Jesse Hubbard, Philip Huber, Jonathan H. Julian, Benj. F. Julian, Levi Lockhart, Benj. McCool, Larkin Montgomery, Timothy Nolan, Samuel Palmer and John W. Shrode.

There came from Spencer county, as land owners, Richmond L. Crosley, John Garland, Wm. Jones, Thos. G. Kissinger, Valentine Licht, Henry C. McKinley, Alford Mylor, Stephen Ravenscraft, Xavier Stromier, Philip J. Saltsman, Joseph Schonhoff, Michael Spade, Wm. Thompson, George Tuihtheran, and the Enlows. I do not mean these were all, nor that they lived in Dubois county, but that they entered land there.

James Gentry, on April 16, 1818, became the owner (by entry) of 160 acres of land about four miles south of Huntingburg. It was the first land entry in Cass township and on the Lincoln Trail between Lincoln City and the Enlows' mill at Jasper. The improved Jasper and Evansville state road permits you to see all of this entry and passes within 60 rods of it for one-half a mile. The Enlows entered Jasper in 1829; they also entered land all about the Freeman Markers between Huntingburg and Dale, as did the Bruner family that is said to have had a joint-ownership with Lincoln in a long rifle, said to be at Washington now.

Corroborative of the interpretation and conclusions arrived at in our vision of this work, and relating to the opportunities which were presented to Lincoln in his environments in

<sup>19</sup>George R. Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, 162 (Jasper, Indiana, 1910).

Indiana, is a recent article by Meredith Nicholson,<sup>20</sup> in which one of the ablest of our Indiana writers deals with the factor of what he calls "a healthy curiosity which winged the genius of Lincoln for immortality," and he correctly states that what a youth really seeks and finds and assimilates for himself, whether he has known the stimulus of college training or has done his own exploring, leads into a field where standardization and method are helpless. Mr. Nicholson is plowing in the same field with us.

The entire eight counties of Southwestern Indiana, including Lincoln's county of Spencer, were in the same judicial circuit for judges and prosecuting attorneys, and the lawyers, the leading men of the time—commonwealth builders as well as lawyers—followed the judge on the circuit on horseback. During Lincoln's time practically all of the leading lawyers in these counties, including frequently lawyers from Vincennes and occasionally from Henderson and Louisville, practiced at Rockport and Boonville, where Lincoln attended court. James Hall, one of the most competent and impartial writers of that time, was for many years circuit judge in southern Illinois among people whom both he and Eggleston describe as much the same as those in southern Ohio and Indiana where they settled near the river. In describing court scenes in this section of the country during Lincoln's time, he says:

The seats of justice were small villages, mostly mere hamlets, composed of a few log-houses, into which the judge and bar were crowded, with the grand and petit jurors, litigants, witnesses, and, in short, the whole body of the county—for in new counties every body goes to court."<sup>21</sup>

Oliver H. Smith, describing the interest of the people of Indiana in the early days when the population was settled chiefly in the southern third or half of the state, says the people came hundreds of miles to see the judges and to hear

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<sup>20</sup>"Is Our Great National Motive Power Being Educated Out of Us?" an article in the *Evansville Sunday Press*, July 19, 1925, one of the Pre-Eminent Author Series of articles by American writers.

<sup>21</sup>Hall, *Legends of the West*, Preface to Second Edition.

the lawyers "plead" the cases, as they called it.<sup>22</sup>

The court records in these counties usually showed that lawyers were formally admitted to the bar upon their first appearance in the court, and always when they came before the court from other counties to transact law business. Unfortunately the records of Spencer were destroyed by fire, and the entire record of the admission of lawyers during Lincoln's time in Spencer County was destroyed; but Perry County, lying east of Spencer, farther removed from Vanderburgh and Gibson counties where most of the lawyers in the counties mentioned lived during Lincoln's time, has preserved its record of admissions to the bar; so has Warrick County; and the list taken from the latter counties may be fairly assumed to describe men who practiced during the same period at Rockport in Spencer County. From these sources and from the record in local history of various particular trials it is established that the leading lawyers were frequent, and many of them regular, practitioners at Rockport in Spencer County during Lincoln's time.<sup>23</sup>

John A. Brackenridge was one of the distinguished lawyers of the southern Indiana bar during Lincoln's residence there. It has never been doubted as a matter of family and local history among the old settlers of Spencer and Warrick counties, that Lincoln was a frequent visitor at the residence of John A. Brackenridge in Warrick County, that he heard him plead at the bar at Boonville, and borrowed law books from him. The Reverend J. Edward Murr, author of "Lincoln in Indiana," quotes Wesley Hall as stating that young Lincoln frequently made pilgrimages to Brackenridge's home, borrowed his law books, sometimes remained throughout the day and

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<sup>22</sup>Hon. O. H. Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 7 (Cincinnati, 1858).

<sup>23</sup>*History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 1885, p. 74.

See also "John A. Brackenridge," by Mrs. Eldora Minor Raleigh, one of the leading writers of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, and daughter of a sister of Mrs. John A. Brackenridge, Indiana Historical Commission, *Bulletin* No. 16, pp. 60-66 (October, 1922); *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XVII, p. 147, note; *Ibid.*, p. 141.



night reveling in the mysteries of the law; and also that Lincoln obtained his first opportunity of reading Shakespeare on these visits, and that he, Hall, had heard Lincoln recite Shakespear.<sup>24</sup> Mrs. Raleigh, in her sketch of Brackenridge says that the latter lent Lincoln law books, and that a friendship was established between them which was never broken.<sup>25</sup> When the Reverend Murr's attention was called to the fact that his authority for the statement above mentioned in his "Lincoln in Indiana" was not stated with definiteness, he wrote me a letter stating that his authority for the statement was Wesley Hall, who made the statement to him, and that Hall was a man of the highest character for integrity and truth, and his word was reliable. Mrs. Raleigh, on being interrogated for definite evidence of her statement, says that the fact has always been recognized as family history in the Brackenridge family and has never been doubted. She is indignant that at this late date, after all of the witnesses of the time are dead, any question should be made about it.

From 1824 to 1830, the fourth judicial circuit in Indiana was composed of the counties of Dubois, Pike, Gibson, Posey, Vanderburgh, Warrick, Spencer, Perry, and Crawford. One judge and one prosecuting attorney filled the office in all of those counties. With two terms of court a year, as Judge Hall says, the judges and the prosecuting attorneys and lawyers following them around the circuit, were much of the time on horseback. David Hart, a descendant of one of the Hart brothers of Richard Henderson and Company fame, was presiding judge in those counties from 1818 to 1819, when he resigned, having disqualified himself to hold the office under the constitution of Indiana by issuing a challenge to fight a duel. Judge Hart died about 1820, and his widow and children returned to Kentucky. He was succeeded as president judge by Richard Daniel of the Princeton bar, who held the office from January 2, 1819, to February 21, 1822.

<sup>24</sup>*Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XIV, p. 159.

<sup>25</sup>*Bulletin* No. 16, p. 63 (October, 1922), Indiana Historical Commission.

He was succeeded in February, 1822, by James R. E. Goodlett, who held the office until December 31, 1831. When these judges were not upon the bench they were practicing as lawyers at the bar.

The prosecuting attorney of Spencer County from August 9, 1824 to August 14, 1826 was Amos Clark, who was succeeded on the latter date by Charles I. Battell, who held the office till December 30, 1832.

Richard Daniel was a leading practitioner of the bar in all of the counties named during all of Lincoln's time in Spencer County. Amos Clark was the leader of the Evansville bar during all of Lincoln's time in Indiana and for more than ten years later, when he removed to Texas.<sup>26</sup>

In the legislature of Indiana in 1818, what is now Spencer County was represented in the lower house by Daniel Grass, who was succeeded in 1821 by Thomas Vandever, representing Spencer, Perry, Dubois, and part of Warrick; in 1822, by John Daniel, same counties; in 1823, by David Edwards, representing Spencer, Perry, Dubois counties and Lewis township, part of Warrick County; in 1824, by William McMahan, same counties; in 1825 and 1826 by John Daniel, Spencer, Perry, and Dubois counties; in 1827, Isaac Veatch representing Spencer and Perry counties. Isaac Veatch was the father of General James C. Veatch, a very able and distinguished citizen of Rockport. Samuel Frisby represented the same counties in 1828; Richard Polke in 1829 and John Pitcher in 1830.

The state senators were Ratliff Boon, 1818, representing Posey, Vanderburgh, Spencer, Warrick, and Perry counties; Elisha Harrison, 1819 to 1821; Daniel Grass, 1822 to 1825, representing Perry, Spencer, Dubois, and part of Warrick; Daniel Grass, 1826, representing Perry, Spencer, and Crawford counties; John Daniel, 1827 to 1830, and in 1830,

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<sup>26</sup>*History of Vanderburgh County*, 83-85 (John E. Iglehart, Dayton, 1923), published as Volume III of Logan Esarey's *History of Indiana*.

Samuel Frisby representing the same counties.<sup>27</sup>

There is at this late period no means of accurately judging the comparative influence of John Pitcher and John A. Brackenridge on Abraham Lincoln during his life in Spencer County. Pitcher, like Brackenridge, was a man of excellent ancestry and had the best education possible for a man of his time. He came from Connecticut, where he studied law with Judge Reeves, the well-known law-book writer. Pitcher was a man of antislavery, Brackenridge of proslavery sentiments. In view of the importance of the slavery question at that time, it is more than likely that Pitcher exercised a good deal of influence over Lincoln in that direction, pointing out clearly correct ideals and discussing questions of interest at the time in conversation with Lincoln. Although Pitcher never acquired the social habit of the westerner, more readily acquired by Brackenridge, but throughout his life maintained always a stern and dignified reserve, he was a fine conversationalist, and easy of access. He was one of the great trial lawyers of Indiana, altogether the ablest man in public life who lived in Spencer County during Lincoln's time. My judgment is that both Pitcher and Brackenridge exercised important influence upon the ideals and life of Lincoln during this important formative period.<sup>28</sup>

Daniel Grass was probably more of a commonwealth builder and political influence in Spencer County than any other man in it from the earliest history of Rockport until Lincoln left Indiana. There can be no serious doubt about Lincoln's knowledge of him, and acquaintance with him, although there is no direct testimony of which I have knowledge to that particular point. The circumstances of Grass's life and his relation to matters of public interest justify this conclusion.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup>*History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 489.

<sup>28</sup>*Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XVII, pp. 145, 146, and 147. See also letter from H. C. Pitcher, "Judge John Pitcher" in *Evansville and Its Men of Mark*, 406-7 (Edward White ed., Evansville, 1873).

<sup>29</sup>The reader may be reminded here that it is upon the doctrine of probabilities that Butler founds his argument in favor of natural religion.

The life of Daniel Grass has been written and will be published in the proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society.

Joseph Lane was one of the distinguished men of southern Indiana, a rival of Ratliff Boon and Robert M. Evans in public life. When Vanderburgh County was created, Boon legislated him out of his (Boon's) legislative district, putting his farm into Vanderburgh County, which accounts for the irregular eastern boundary of that county. Lane was intimate with Grass, Boon, Evans, and Hugh McGary; in a conference these men settled their rivalries sufficiently to permit the creation of Vanderburgh County as it now exists so as not to interfere with the ambitions of Grass in Spencer County and of Boon in Warrick County. Lane's account of the organization of Vanderburgh County is the only reliable one in existence.<sup>30</sup>

Lane worked in the clerk's office in Warrick County shortly after the organization of Warrick County, was very active in politics in the third decade, was justice of the peace in Vanderburgh County, member of the legislature (defeating Robert M. Evans for the place), was appointed governor of Oregon during the Mexican War, and became United States Senator upon admission of Oregon to the Union. He was candidate with Breckenridge against Lincoln and Hamlin in 1860. It is probable that Lincoln knew Lane; he must have had the opportunity; and Lane was one of the most popular, as well as one of the foremost men in this section in the third decade, during Lincoln's life in Indiana.

John M. Lockwood was a member of the family of the wool carder Evans, at Princeton, and knew Lincoln very well. The circumstance of their meeting, with a romance incidental to Lincoln's visit to the wool carder Evans, has been fully

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<sup>30</sup>*History of Vanderburgh County*, 101-2 (Brant and Fuller, 1889). One of William W. Woollen's finest sketches is of Joseph Lane, *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana*, 412-25 (Indianapolis, 1883).

described.<sup>31</sup> I remember John M. Lockwood very well. My father knew him well. He lived in Evansville from 1830 until a later period, when, having accumulated a fortune, he went to Mount Vernon; there he died, having acquired prominence in that community. He was a giant in size, something like six feet, four inches high as I remember, and was probably as tall as Lincoln when the two as young men met together at the wool carder's house and place of business in Princeton.

The leaders of the English settlement in north Vanderburgh County are recognized as men of prominence in this section by the early historians, including George Flower, who wrote a history of the English settlement in Edwards County, Illinois.<sup>32</sup> Among others were the Hornbrooks, Maidlows, Ingles, Wheelers, Hilliards, Potts, James Cawson, and Dr. Hornby. Very recently there came into the custody of Mrs. Bertha Cox Armstrong a considerable portion of the library of James Cawson, a civil engineer and school teacher from London, who brought into the English settlement in 1818 a library from England, to which he added continuously while in America. This library has been donated to the Vanderburgh County Museum and Historical Society, and will be the subject of proper description by one of the ablest members of that Society.<sup>33</sup>

General Washington Johnston was well known throughout

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<sup>31</sup>The daughter of John M. Lockwood, deceased, has furnished an account to the Vanderburgh County Museum and Historical Society of Lincoln's visit at Princeton, to Evans, with whom Lockwood worked in 1827 and earlier. Mr. Jesse W. Weik published in December, 1912, in the *Success* magazine, an article called "When Lincoln Met the Wool Carder's Niece." A copy of the article was read at the meeting of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society at Newburgh, May, 1925, by Lockwood's granddaughter, Mrs. Lottie Edson Erwin.

<sup>32</sup>George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois* (Chicago Historical Society Collections, Vol. I, Chicago, 1882.)

<sup>33</sup>Mrs. Armstrong is a great-granddaughter of George Potts, who married a sister of Mrs. Cawson, and who was a partner with Cawson in business. The library of the Cawson family came into his custody.

See Ida Tarbell's reference to the influence of this settlement upon Abraham Lincoln in her book *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*, 150 (New York, 1924). See also *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XV, p. 89.



all of the counties in Southwestern Indiana, including Spencer County, practiced in all of the counties, was one of the most prominent men in the organization of Indiana Territory and the State of Indiana, was a land speculator in many of the counties, and was one of the most influential and active men in Indiana Territory. His services in putting the anti-slavery clause into the first constitution of Indiana were of the greatest value. It is probable that Lincoln knew him and his work.<sup>34</sup>

Two other probable acquaintances of the Lincoln's may be mentioned: Elisha Harrison, a second or third cousin of William Henry Harrison, was one of the most influential men in southwestern Indiana from 1816 to 1825, about the period of his death. When Vanderburgh county was created he was in the lower house of the legislature; at the same time, Boon was in the state senate. He was very ambitious in politics, whereby he incurred the enmity of Ratliff Boon, and was prevented from realizing his political hopes. Robert M. Evans was a man of great prominence in southwestern Indiana. Joe Lane, in a letter written some forty years ago to the Vanderburgh County Biographical and Historical Society, said of Robert M. Evans and Daniel Grass, that they belonged to the whole state of Indiana.<sup>35</sup>

Lincoln was a Jacksonian Democrat when he left Indiana in 1830; his representative in Congress was Ratliff Boon, who is described as an excellent campaigner, very suave and polite in his address among the people, though very combative with his political opponents, a political boss, who ruled practically without interference in southwestern Indiana during Abraham Lincoln's residence in Spencer County. He was in Congress during all of Jackson's time, from 1824 to 1838, except

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<sup>34</sup>See the paper by George R. Wilson, "General Washington Johnston," read before this Society in February, 1924, and published in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XX, pp. 123-53, a valuable contribution to the history of the state.

<sup>35</sup>A sketch of Robert M. Evans is found in *History of Vanderburgh County*, 48-50. For a sketch of Elisha Harrison, see *Ibid.*, pp. 53-57.

one term of two years when he was beaten by one vote.<sup>36</sup>

An acquaintance of Abraham Lincoln about whom little has been written—and part of that erroneous—is Judge Lemuel Quincy DeBruler. Two papers upon Judge DeBruler and the DeBruler family are incorporated in this sketch as supplementing what has hitherto been published about the human environment of Lincoln in Indiana.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>For a sketch of Ratliff Boon see paper by William L. Barker in Indiana Historical Commission, *Bulletin* No. 16, pp. 72-78 (October, 1922), *Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society*. A fuller life of Boon is now in preparation.

<sup>37</sup>These papers were read at the sixth annual meeting of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, February 6, 1925, at Evansville.

The paper upon Judge Lemuel Quincy DeBruler was prepared at the writer's request by Mrs. Eugenia Ehrmann, only surviving child of Judge DeBruler, with the aid, especially upon the Judge's legal career, of Judge E. M. Swan. It was read by Mrs. George C. Dunlevy.

## JUDGE LEMUEL QUINCY DEBRULER

BY EUGENIA EH RMANN

The first DeBruler of whom we have any record was a French Huguenot, who came to this country about 1740, and settled near Baltimore. He married there, and among his offspring were twin sons, one of whom was the great-grandfather of Lemuel Quincy, the subject of this sketch, who with his twin brother, James Pressbury DeBruler, was born in Orange County, North Carolina, on September 17, 1817.

There is no record to explain just why this branch of the family drifted to North Carolina, but poor soil and the question of slavery were undoubtedly factors in their coming to Indiana. Some of the relatives owned slaves, a fact so abhorrent to the others that they were persuaded to free them and all move together to a free state. They arrived in Indiana in October, 1818, but did not stop until they reached Pike County, where they lived several years. Afterward, their father, Wesley DeBruler, entered land in Dubois County, about eight miles from Jasper, where he reared five sons and one daughter.

His twin sons had visions of a professional career early in life, and studied early and late, helping out their meager schooling with private instruction from any one who could or would instruct them. Lemuel Q. (commonly called "Quincy") chose the law, but his twin brother, James P., chose the medical profession. So their paths separated for

the first time in their lives. Quincy read and studied law faithfully for several years, and finally began practicing his profession about 1840, in which year he married Angeline Condit. He was frequently heard to say that he would be satisfied when he had saved a thousand dollars, but he did not retire at that point. Notwithstanding his liberality and generous public spirit, he acquired a modest fortune, yet his untiring energy impelled him on until he finally died in the harness as an active lawyer.

James graduated from Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia and located in Rockport, Indiana, where he married Sarah Graham, daughter of Judge John Graham. He persuaded his brother, Quincy, that Rockport had many advantages over Jasper, being a river town with superior business prospects, while Jasper was far inland. So the lawyer moved to Rockport about 1850, having attended courts there frequently before. Here he was admitted to the bar in 1846. He succeeded so well that he could not be induced to make another change when his brother, Doctor James, moved to Evansville in 1858; but remained at Rockport, engaging in his profession until his death on August 10, 1875, being survived by his wife, two sons, Curran A. and Oscar, and one daughter, Eugenia, wife of Dr. E. D. Ehrmann. Mrs. Ehrmann is the only member of the family now living (1921).

Judge Lemuel Q. DeBruler was elected prosecuting attorney in his circuit, embracing Spencer and eight other counties, August 27, 1846, and held the office two years. He was elected judge of the common pleas court of his district upon the organization of that court under the new constitution of Indiana, October 26, 1852, and was reelected October 26, 1856, retiring at the close of the year 1860; but his preference however was for the active life of the advocate.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Leander J. Monks, *Courts and Lawyers of Indiana* (Indianapolis) 1916), Vol. I, p. XXXIX, Index, gives the middle initial erroneously as O. instead of Q., and also gives the career of a "Samuel S. DeBruler" as a separate and distinct individual. There was no such person; "Samuel S." is a mistaken version of "Lemuel Q."

In his practice, he soon won his place as the leader of the bar in his county, at that time the ablest bar the county had ever had. He was engaged in almost every case of importance here as well as in the courts of other counties and states. He valorously crossed swords with other able legal gladiators of his day, among them the far-famed John A. Brackenridge, John Pitcher, Daniel B. Kumler, Charles Denby, Asa Iglehart, General James M. Shackelford, the brilliant James M. Shanklin, Charles L. Wedding, Edwin R. Hatfield, Judge George L. Reinhard, and other eminent practitioners, intellectual legal giants, lawyers of great force, ability, and deep learning, nor did he battle without signal success.

In stature he was slightly above the average; rather slender, but capable of endurance; with dark complexion; an eye like an eagle, keen, penetrating, and awe-inspiring; a clear, ringing, clarion voice; language short, sharp, and incisive as an Italian stiletto. In his earnest, impassioned, eloquent speech and fervid oratory—ornate, logical, and masterful—he swept opposition before him with an avalanche of flame, and carried conviction to the hearts of his hearers.

His nearest equal in oratory and advocacy in the bar of his county was his son and partner, Curran A. DeBruler, who had superior advantages and opportunities. He was graduated from various institutions of learning, including Cambridge. Brilliant, alert, fiery but polished, analytical, classical, flowery as the meads in May, his burning eloquence shattered antagonism like a thunder-bolt. Although his legal ability, learning, fine sense of justice, and humane heart later made him judge of the First Judicial Circuit of Indiana, and although he was an able and capable judge, he was in that position out of his true orbit.

Quincy DeBruler was a Union man in the War of the Rebellion and although his deafness prevented his enlisting, he was active in encouraging and inspiring the soldiery and defense of the nation. Shortly after Lincoln's second election, he went to Washington on legal business. There he went to



the White House, to pay his respects. President Lincoln, bringing his hand down on his shoulder with a resounding whack, said, "Sit down, sit down, DeBruler, I want to talk—I know some of the things you have done for the Union, and I want news of Spencer county."

He was public spirited and a valuable asset to the public welfare. It was chiefly through his efforts and instrumentality that his county got its first railroad and better connection and communication with the outside world. He ran a race with Mr. Kirby, of Cincinnati, one of the railroad promoters, to see which one should throw the first shovelful of dirt. The Judge lost because his spade caught on a root.

The church, also, and all other commendable enterprises enjoyed his munificence. He could never refuse an appeal for help, although he frequently responded against his better judgment. More than one motherless child was taken into his home and kept, sometimes for two or three years, until some other provision was made for it. Such is a brief outline of the career of Quincy DeBruler as a lawyer.

The life of Quincy DeBruler was made unique by a series of strange circumstances and coincidences. He was of a family which boasted of many sets of twins. He had two aunts, Polly and Arabella DeBruler, who were twins, and who died on the same day and were buried in the same grave. His sister, Sarah Sharp, had twin daughters who died in their infancy. His brother, Richard, had twin daughters, Emma and Ella, and also a daughter, Lucy Craig, who was the mother of twins; and another brother, Thomas F. DeBruler, had twin daughters, Mary and Sarah, the former of whom is still living; they were so like each other that their parents could scarcely distinguish them, and it was not until they were grown that acquaintances could tell them apart.

Judge Lemuel Quincy DeBruler and his twin brother, Doctor James P., were so like in appearance, that it was difficult to distinguish between them. Both became deaf in both ears in 1859. The Judge had a fall and broke his shoulder

and two ribs, and the next day his brother, James, suffered precisely the same injuries. Both had a peculiar and obstinate eruption on the forehead at the same time. James died on August 10, 1874, and as a result of the many coincidences in their lives, the Judge with a premonition, or rather presentiment, began to prepare his business and mundane affairs to follow his beloved brother. And his anticipation was soon verified—he was taken sick one year from the day that James was, and of the same disease, and died one year from the day of his brother's death. Every small detail connected with his sickness was identical with that of his brother.

Throughout the Judge's sickness, and until he was laid to rest, the yard and porches were full of people, of high and low degree, both black and white, many with tears streaming down their faces, mute testimony of the affection and esteem in which he was held. The song, "Only remembered by what I have done," sung at his brother's funeral was sung also at his. He was laid to rest in the cemetery at Rockport, and loving friends keep his memory green. In remembrance of Quincy DeBruler, all can say:

"None knew thee but to love thee,  
Nor named thee but to praise."

## THE DEBRULER FAMILY AS TYPICAL PIONEERS

BY JOHN E. IGLEHART

I have, since I have been a member of the Indiana bar, now past fifty-four years, regarded the DeBruler family as one of the distinguished families of the state, embracing as it has Judge L. Q. DeBruler and his son, Curran A. DeBruler (who was also Judge, but whom I will call by his first name to distinguish him), and Dr. James P. DeBruler, the twin brother of Judge L. Q. DeBruler—all distinguished by inherited talents of very high order and by achievement of high success which came with a lifetime of labor: all men of high ideals and the graces of social life which mark the gentleman, which Chesterfield truly says it takes three generations to develop.

I have known most of the prominent members of the South-western Indiana bar during a period of fifty-five years. Those I did not know personally I knew by reputation among their older associates, particularly my father, in whose law office I entered after graduation from college in June, 1868, before I was twenty years old and with whom I was associated until his death nearly twenty years later.

Social life then among lawyers in the courtroom and in their offices was more highly valued than now, and widely different from the present; for the pioneers at the bar who had outlived the pioneer age, continued their old habits and customs until the new generation took their place.

As early as 1870, and before any railroad was built in Posey County, before the days of abstractors of title in this section, I visited Mt. Vernon and examined titles to a strip of land on the Wabash River, upon which the Louisville and Nashville Railroad is now located. In these trips I used both the steamboat and the stage. I was in and about the courthouse, met the lawyers, had law business dealings with some of them, as well as those in other counties. I remember one occasion, about 1871, when John Pitcher was about the age that I am now, in his full mental powers but not so active physically as I am now. I sat next to him upon the top plank of a high board fence surrounding the public square and the old courthouse in Mt. Vernon, a fence five planks high, with the posts sawed off evenly so that a plank nailed on the top of the posts made a comfortable seat in the sun in the cool air of spring or fall. On the other side of Pitcher, as I remember, was lawyer Milton Pearse. I took part in a conversation lasting about an hour and a half, which I greatly appreciated as I realized (but not quite so well then as I do now), who John Pitcher was and had been. I am the only living lawyer, I think, who heard Pitcher and Harrow try cases in court, and I knew even then the standing of Judge DeBruler, about twenty-five years younger in age and experience than Pitcher.

In the middle fifties my father was on the bench and traveled the circuit. DeBruler, Pitcher, and the other leading lawyers practiced before him. When DeBruler and Pitcher were each on the bench in different circuits, my father practiced before them. His knowledge of them was complete, and in my dual associations of social and professional life with him, I came to know all he could teach me, and particularly his estimate of lawyers. Using this and other means of information as well, I formed my estimate of Judge DeBruler. I saw him occasionally, and I learned the esteem in which he was held by his brethren, which has remained with me always the same.

Dr. James P. DeBruler was my father's family physician until the doctor died in the early part of 1874, while I was

still living for the last year under the paternal roof. Mrs. Ehrmann's sketch of Judge DeBruler recognizes, so far as a comparison can be made of the two brothers in different professions, that they were equals. While the doctor had not the opportunities of the judge in public speaking, he was a fine conversationalist; with his humor and good cheer I have seen him change the atmosphere of gloom in the sick room into cheerfulness more rapidly than could medicine. In the community in which he lived, he was generally and most favorably known; throughout the medical fraternity of the state, he was recognized as a worthy leader. He stood in the front rank of his profession and was a fit representative of one of the distinguished families of the state.

His son, Claude Graham DeBruler, was one of the editors and proprietors of the *Evansville Journal*. At his death the proceedings of the Press Club and expressions of esteem by leading men in his profession filled a page in the *Journal*. I knew him intimately at home, in college, and in the business world later, and he showed the same traits with which I have characterized the DeBruler family. His only son, James, a very promising young physician, died at the threshold of his career.

The only living descendant of Claude or Dr. James P. DeBruler is Mrs. Bertha DeBruler Donovan of Evansville, a worthy descendant of such an ancestry.

I knew Dr. DeBruler's wife, Mrs. Sarah Graham DeBruler, daughter of Judge John W. Graham of Rockport. Our families were near neighbors in Evansville, and socially intimate. I knew well her two sisters, Mrs. James W. Wartman and Miss Nannie Graham, all pioneers of the early pioneer age, and I speak in no mere spirit of eulogy when I say that in intelligence, culture, and the highest social standing, these ladies ranked as did the DeBruler gentlemen.

I emphasize this because local history records that Judge John W. Graham was, for an unusually long period, from 1825 till 1838, lay judge at Rockport of the Spencer Circuit



Court, the only court of record in the county to which Abraham Lincoln from 1825 to 1830, when he left Spencer County, frequently came as an interested spectator. The position of lay judge was filled by election, and in those days the office itself indicated that the incumbent was one of the leading men of the county. His biography should be written for the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society. There is every reason to believe Lincoln knew Graham well.

I knew Curran DeBruler as a lawyer, and as a man, longer and more intimately than any others of the family, as we were both members of the Evansville bar. I have seen him under practically all of the tests to which a trial lawyer may be subjected. I have tried cases with him and against him as counsel, more often against him. He lacked from childhood the fine physical development of his father, and infirmity shortened his life, but as a silver-tongued orator of the first rank he rose above all physical weakness and was, with perhaps the exception of Blythe Hynes, who died in 1876, regarded as the most brilliant orator and jury advocate of the Southwestern Indiana bar.

He was one of the first graduates of the Harvard Law School to practice in this section, and, endowed as he was with the logical mind necessary to high success as a lawyer, with a fine discrimination in the use of words, with the greatest fluency of speech, his law-school training gave him a marked advantage which aided in making his legal arguments as effective with the judges as were his eloquent appeals with juries. His ethical standards were all that could be expected from a man of such distinguished ancestry. A local historian in Spencer County makes an excellent comparison between the father and son as lawyers, giving them the highest and substantially equal rank as lawyers.<sup>1</sup>

Judge DeBruler married, on March 7, 1841, at Jasper, in Dubois County, Hulda Angeline Condit, a granddaughter of Uzal Condit (who was born in New Jersey, but in 1805 moved to

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<sup>1</sup>*History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, 1885, pp. 322-23.

Kentucky with his children) and the daughter of James Hervey Condit, who was a pioneer, first in Warrick County, later in Dubois County. The latter was a successful trader in tobacco and for many years loaded a flatboat in the fall for the New Orleans market and spent the winters there. Condit also conducted a hotel in Jasper.<sup>2</sup>

Lincoln knew Judge DeBruler personally. The incident of Judge DeBruler's meeting with Lincoln furnished by Mrs. Eugenia Ehrmann, Judge DeBruler's only living child, is interesting; but unfortunately there is no record extant as to when and how Lincoln and Judge DeBruler became acquainted.

Eugenia DeBruler, daughter of Judge DeBruler, married Dr. Edward Ehrmann, son of Dr. Christian Ehrmann, a noted physician who assisted in organizing the Homeopathic College in Louisville where he was professor of Theory and Practice. Their son, Dr. Calder D. Ehrmann, born in Rockport, June 6, 1878, is a physician living in Rockport. On June 23, 1902, he married Bess Virginia Hicks.

The father of Mrs. Bess Ehrmann was Royal S. Hicks, who married Rachael Ann Britton, daughter of Thomas P. Britton. Mr. Hicks was a pioneer of Spencer County in the fifties, founded the *Rockport Democrat*, the oldest paper of Spencer County that is still being published, and made it an accredited organ of much influence in southwestern Indiana. He was born in Switzerland County, Indiana, in 1825. He was clerk of Spencer County from 1856 to 1864.

I remember distinctly the first time (in the seventies) that

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<sup>2</sup>The Patoka River was then navigable, according to an Indiana statute. My uncle, Dr. Thomas Wheeler, son of Mark Wheeler of the English settlement in Vanderburgh County, told me that he traveled on a small steamboat up Patoka River as far as Jasper.

From the genealogical record of the Condit family, (descended from John Condit, a native of Great Britain who settled in Newark, New Jersey), a book embracing 470 pages, it appears that the Condits were prominent pioneers in Kentucky and Indiana. Whether any of them lived in Spencer County I do not know, but there is a good deal of evidence tending to show that the county lines between Warrick and Spencer Counties, and between Dubois and Spencer Counties as now existing, were not much of a division among the pioneers. James H. Condit lived with his family in Warrick County before he lived in Dubois County.

Royal S. Hicks was pointed out to me sitting in the courtroom at Rockport. He was a large heavy-set man with massive body, and an unusually large, well-shaped head, with a strong face. I have often thought of, and never forgotten, the man as I then saw him. He ranked among the prominent men of the Rockport bar. A biography of him is printed in the *Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men of the State of Indiana*.

The introduction into this sketch of the name of Thomas P. Britton, who, as the grandfather of Mrs. Dr. Calder Ehrmann, is an ancestor of some of the latest generation of the DeBruler family, is germane both to my subject and to this occasion. He is of importance as a prominent educated man living in the environment of Abraham Lincoln from 1825 to 1830. The same is true of Judge John W. Graham, also made relevant by the marriage of Dr. James P. DeBruler to a daughter of Judge Graham.

Thomas P. Britton was born in Monongahela County, Virginia, August 14, 1806. He and a brother, Alexander Britton, came to Rockport, Spencer County, in 1825. Alexander Britton was a trustee of the town of Rockport at its incorporation, and the trustees met in his house. He was postmaster at Rockport, and was town treasurer in 1854. He is named in the local history of Spencer County with Daniel Grass, Alexander Britton, John W. Graham, John Pitcher and many others as among the first residents of the town of Rockport.

Thomas Britton was a man of education and force, and strong personality, as appears in the early history of the time. He was clerk of Spencer County from 1835 to 1845, and recorder from 1835 to 1842. His handwriting is said to be the most perfect now appearing in the courthouse files of Spencer County, and is frequently shown, as such, to visitors. The Brittons were of good ancestry.

Thomas Britton died in Rockport in 1853. I knew his son, Thomas P. Britton, Jr., who lived in Evansville and left

property and descendants here, also his son, Frank, well known and prominent in Evansville. Both were men of ability and high personal character, universally respected. Thomas P. Britton was sheriff of this county after the Civil War.<sup>3</sup>

One incidental reference in Mrs. Eugenia Ehrmann's biography of her father might well be extended. The ancestor of the Indiana DeBrulers came, by way of North Carolina, from tidewater Maryland, out of a settlement of French Huguenots located near Baltimore. This is not a unique case of French Huguenot ancestry among the people of southwestern Indiana. Dr. Richard deNune, a French Huguenot, lived in tidewater Maryland in or near the locality from which the earlier DeBruler came, and his daughter, Mary deNune, my great grandmother, is buried in the old Iglehart cemetery in Prince Georges County, Maryland.

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<sup>3</sup>Since this address was delivered, a paper on the subject of Morris Birbeck's estimate of the people of Princeton in 1817 was read at the meeting of this Society at Newburgh, Indiana, in May, 1925, by Mr. L. C. Embree, and has been published in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289-99. It is one of the ablest among the contributions extant on the subject of the environments of Abraham Lincoln in Indiana between 1816 and 1830, both in facts conclusive in their nature and in the manner of their presentation.

EARLY NAVIGATION  
ON THE  
ST. JOSEPH RIVER

BY  
OTTO M. KNOBLOCK

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## EARLY NAVIGATION ON THE ST. JOSEPH RIVER<sup>1</sup>

Where the tall grasses nod at the close of the day,  
And the sycamore shadow is slanting away—  
Where the whip-poor-will chants from a far distant limb  
Just as if the whole business was all made for him.  
Oh! It's now that my thoughts, flying back on the wings  
Of the rail and the die-away song that he sings,  
Brings the tears to my eyes that drip off into rhyme  
And I live once again in the old summer time;  
For my soul it seems caught in old time's undertow  
And I'm floating away down the river St. Joe.

Ben King, the gentle poet of the St. Joseph, certainly loved his favorite river.

The river now known as the St. Joseph was first named "The river of the Miamis." Later it was named "St. Joseph's river of the Lakes," which was shortened first to St. Joseph's and then to St. Joseph. The present source of this river is in Hillsdale County, Michigan, flowing southwesterly into Indiana in Elkhart County, then turning northerly, leaving the state in St. Joseph County and entering Michigan in Berrien County, thence flowing northwesterly into Lake Michigan at the port of St. Joseph.

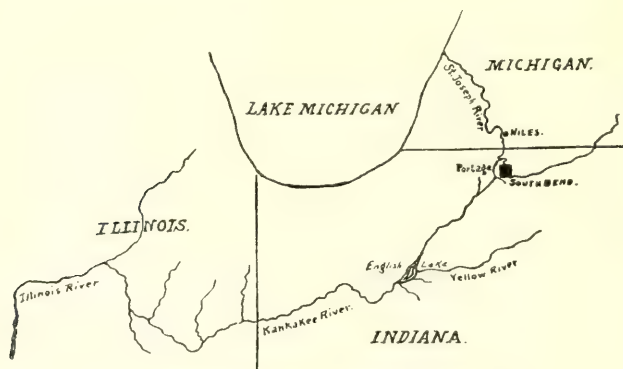
Before the advent of the white men, this country was inhabited by roving bands of Indians who had no permanent abiding place but moved about in quest of game, going south

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<sup>1</sup>This address was delivered before the annual meeting of the Indiana Historical Society, and the Society of Indiana Pioneers at South Bend, Indiana, August 28, 1925. It is a revision of the original article written September 3, 1895, when authentic information was obtainable; re-written December 6, 1921, with additional facts; both manuscripts are in the files of the Northern Indiana Historical Society, South Bend, Indiana.

in the fall and north with the returning spring. Detached parties of Indians, scouting for various purposes, were constantly passing between the Great Lakes and the country south on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

The location of the principal portages, or carrying places, over which it was necessary to pass in order to make the journey by water, were well known to the Indians, and there is every evidence that the favorite route between Lake Michigan and the south, was by way of the St. Joseph and the Kankakee rivers in what is now northern Indiana, because the portage between them was passable at all times of the year. It passed over solid high ground, which was not true of the Fox River portage in Wisconsin nor the Chicago River portage in Illinois. The Indians were encumbered in their marches with camp equipage and supplies and voluntarily chose the route offering the least inconvenience, so we may consider the red man in his birch bark canoe as the pioneer in river transportation on the St. Joseph.



LOCATION OF ST JOSEPH KANKAKEE PORTAGE.

Map showing source of St. Joseph River in Southern Michigan; abrupt turn northerly at South Bend, Indiana, and thence to Lake Michigan; source of the Kankakee River near South Bend, and the St. Joseph-Kankakee portage.

La Salle, with thirty men including Hennepin and Tonty,

passed up the river from Lake Michigan to the head of the Kankakee portage in 1679, carrying a quantity of material, part of which was to be used in the construction of a vessel which he contemplated building on the Mississippi River; he was, therefore, the first white man who actually transported merchandise on the river.

In later years, trading posts were established at the mouth of the river, now St. Joseph, Michigan, and at Niles, Michigan; and the Indians, as well as French trappers, brought their furs in canoes from points up the river. A brisk traffic was carried on as early as 1700. From that period to 1831, there was no organized attempt made to carry other freight on the river, but as towns were building on its banks and mills going into operation, it was clear that the surplus products could be freighted down to Lake Michigan and carried to Chicago and other markets, and such merchandise as was not produced here could be brought up from the lake by the same means.

In the year 1831, Peter Johnson, a carpenter in the village of South Bend, undertook the construction of the first keel boat, which was the pioneer of a large fleet of such boats. He purchased a quantity of lumber at Niles with which to build a house, and to transport it to South Bend, he bought of a French trader at Niles, a pirogue, or large canoe which had been used for carrying furs. He poled it up to South Bend, discharged the cargo, and conceived the idea of lengthening and broadening it, so as to give it more carrying capacity. He split it lengthwise and made it 40 feet long and 6 feet wide, with running boards along the sides 12 inches wide with cleats nailed on crosswise. The running boards projected outside the gunwale, so supported on brackets as to leave the body of the boat free for cargo. The shipyard was at the foot of Washington Street. The boat was named the *Fairplay* and was captained on its first trip to St. Joseph by Johnson, and on subsequent trips by Madore Cratee and a crew of four men. The *Fairplay*, while actually the first

freight boat, was not a representative of the keel-boat family as afterwards developed, being nothing more than a large, clumsy canoe.

The next year, 1832, Johnson built the first real, large-capacity keel boat. To Lee P. Johnson, his son, who was sixteen years old at that time, and who died October 6, 1896, at the age of eighty years, I am indebted for a description of its building and launching. Peter Johnson's carpenter shop was located at what is now 116 West Washington Street, between Michigan and Main Streets; in the street directly in front of the shop, the keel was laid. Utilizing the street for a shipyard was evidently considered no obstruction to traffic which was confined to an occasional horse or ox-drawn wagon, and as there were no curb-lines and the sidewalks were undefined, the work really did not bother any one, and permission of the town authorities was neither asked nor required. The keel was 80 feet long, with stem and stern posts and bent knees, something like those used in canal boats. Two-inch oak planks were used to cover the frame work, the planks running lengthwise; and those at the bow and stern were steamed and bent to conform to the model, so as to make the boat pointed, or approximately so, at both ends. The stern was not actually pointed but was somewhat contracted. The keel proper projected two inches below the bottom and was also of oak. The planking was firmly nailed on to the knees and stem and stern posts, the work being done while the boat was lying upside down. When finished, the seams were calked and the entire bottom pitched. The difficulty that now presented itself was to get it into the river, about one thousand feet straight east.

It must be remembered that Washington Street at that time (1832) bore not the slightest resemblance to the street of our day. While the real bank of the river was a straight north and south line through town, the land on the west side was low and swampy, except for a narrow strip of sand that marked the edge of the river and conformed to what is now its west bank. The bluff, or edge of the high bank, did not

follow the bank of the river, but extended in a circle, leaving the edge of the river near where the dam now is and running obliquely in a gradual retreat from the river, and crossing Washington Street about at Mill Street which is the first alley east of Michigan Street; from here it extended north, parallel with Michigan Street, until it met the river at La Salle Avenue. The edge of this bluff was well defined and quite steep, and there were no roads running east and west over it because the land lying between the bluff and the river—now occupied by the west race and buildings thereon—was low and swampy and covered with a heavy growth of willows.

It was seldom that any one descended the bluff and waded through the swamp, for when they wished to reach the river they went around the swamp. At each of these points were old Indian trails, and one could reach the river from uptown without getting into the mud.

Johnson deemed it advisable to attempt to drag the boat from the carpenter shop directly to the river, rather than carry it around either end of the swamp; it was necessary, therefore, to prepare a roadway from the edge of the bluff across the swamp to the bank of the river. He first leveled down the sharp edge of the bluff so that the boat could slide over without much danger of breaking. He then cut down a large number of the willow trees in the swamp and laid them crosswise, and on them piled brush and trunks of trees until he had formed a sort of corduroy road or causeway from the base of the bluff across the swamp to the river. When everything was ready, Johnson sent runners out into the country asking the settlers to come into town on a prearranged day and assist in the launching. When the day arrived, a large number of citizens were on hand. The first job was to turn the boat over on her keel, and as it was very heavy, the united help of everyone present was required. When the boat was ready to drag to the river, rollers were put under it, ropes attached, and all hands bent to the task. As many as could took hold of the sides of the boat, and the rest pulled at the



ropes; when the boat was finally started she was not allowed to come to rest until they reached the bluff. The sliding of the boat over the bluff was a very particular job, as there was danger of breaking its back, or, in marine parlance, "hogging" it. With great labor the boat was finally dragged across the swamp to the edge of the river and slipped into the water. Madore Cratee, who was to be the captain, sprang into the boat and broke a bottle of spirits over its bow, at the same time announcing that the name of the new boat was to be the *Antelope*.

The launching occurred exactly at the foot of Washington Street and the sloping down of the edge of the bluff, and preparation of a roadway for the launching of the *Antelope* was the first attempt made to grade what is now East Washington Street.

In the same year, 1832, Johnson built another keel boat similar to the *Antelope* which he named the *Comet*. He built it close to the edge of the river where the water works reservoir is, having learned by experience that it was too much labor to launch the boats when built on high ground.

From 1833 to 1840, Captain Boyd, of Mishawaka, built four or five keel boats, somewhat smaller than those built by Johnson, that were known by the name of "Red Dogs" to distinguish them from the larger keel boats. They were not named, but known by number.

In 1833, the fleet running between Three Rivers and the lake consisted of ten or eleven keel boats, some of which were 80 feet long by 7 feet wide and capable of carrying 350 barrels of flour.

In 1842, Alexis Coquillard, who was running a flour mill, engaged a canal boat builder living at Fort Wayne to come to South Bend and build a boat designed for carrying flour to the lake. This boat, named the *South Bend*, was not a success, being too heavy and drawing too much water, so that it was next to impossible to float it over the riffles and bars in the river. It made a trip down to the lake and back, but

the experience on that trip was so discouraging that its use was discontinued. Coquillard was noted for doing such things on a large scale, and, had the river been deeper, his plan for a boat of considerable capacity would have been both feasible and remunerative.

The job of pole boatman was no sinecure, for it is hard to imagine more exhausting labor. Going down stream with the current, there was little to do aside from keeping the boat in the channel, but the up trip was a killer. The usual complement was seven to nine men, the captain, who acted as steersman, and six to eight men to pole. On the up trip, the men took their places at the bow, say four on each side, standing close together on the running boards and facing down stream. At the command from the captain, the two rearmost men plunged their poles downward into the water and set them firmly on the bottom, then, leaning forward with their shoulders against the top of the pole, started to walk down stream, pushing hard all the time until they lay almost horizontal. This started the boat up stream. As soon as they progressed a little way, the Number 2 men set their poles and pushed, then the Number 3 men followed suit, and the Number 4 men in turn. When the Number 1 men neared the stern, the Number 4 men ceased pushing, and, withdrawing their poles, ran forward to the bow and set their poles; as soon as they had good hold, the other men ran back for new positions. In this way the headway of the boat was kept up. On boats having very wide running boards, or an extra inboard run-way, the men would use it on the way back to the bow, travelling in a circle, thus leaving all the men but one to do continuous effective poling work, but as it was necessary for the returning men to lift their poles clear of the water and to carry them back instead of simply dragging them back through the water there was a question as to the utility of the plan. The work was exceedingly laborious and only the most hardy men could stand it. They had callouses on their shoulders where the poles rested that would make a hodcarrier blush.

Lee P. Johnson, son of Peter Johnson, the first South Bend

boat builder, was fifteen years old in 1831, and distinctly remembered the launching of the three boats built by his father. He went down to the lake in the fall of that year as passenger on the *Fairplay*. The incidents of the trip were told to me by him in 1895, at which time I made careful notes for future reference. The trip was still fresh in Mr. Johnson's mind, although it had occurred sixty-four years before, and he described his emotions when Lake Michigan opened to his view and he saw the lake boats, schooners and sloops, which would seem small enough affairs now, but which then seemed to be monsters in size and importance. He was too young to have to work his passage back and passed his time swimming, or sleeping under the shade of the higher portions of the cargo, but as the river twisted, the boat pointed successively to every point of the compass and to keep out of the sun long was impossible.

Young Johnson was very anxious to emulate the example of the polemen, so at one place where the current was not strong, his father told him to take one of the poles and go to work. Johnson took the pole and stepped onto the running board, set the pole on the bottom and endeavored to fall on to it with his shoulder as he saw the other men do, but failed to make connections with the pole and plunged into the water. One of the polemen grasped him by the coat collar as he floated past and jerked him out. After that Johnson was satisfied to act as passenger.

The poling of keel boats did not continue long, for when steamboats came into use in 1833, they towed the boats up the river in strings of four or five, so that the labors of the boatmen were lightened. One of the keel boats which was built by Lyman A. Barnard, of Niles, in 1832, and capable of carrying fifteen tons of freight, was rigged with a mast and sails and made several trips across the lake to Chicago.

Keel boating has its perils: in the summer of 1859, a "Red Dog" keel boat belonging to Captain Boyd, of Mishawaka, came down the river, and passing into the head of the west

race near the dam at South Bend, encountered a hawser stretched across below the head gates. The hawser, which was used for a hand rope to draw boats across the race, was but a few feet above the water, and a man named Trimble, who was steering, did not observe the obstruction until the boat had begun to pass under it. He was unable to avoid the tightly stretched hawser, which caught and held him against a part of the cargo in such manner that his back was broken and he died immediately.

Shipping statistics show that in 1832, merchandise to the extent of 10,000 barrels was landed at the mouth of the river, then called "Newburyport" (now St. Joseph), for shipment up the river.

The following is a complete list of keel boats distinguished by name, that were engaged in the carrying trade on the river from the commencement of the traffic in 1831 until their use was gradually discontinued: *Fairplay, Antelope, Comet, White Pigeon, Mason, Ottawa, Three Brothers, Swallow, Red Bird, Odd Fellow, Buena Vista, Rover, Racer, Dolphin, Diamond, Empire, Gem, Ruby, Goshen, Cass, and South Bend*. This list does not include Captain Boyd's boats, which were known by numbers. Altogether, there were twenty-five regular keel boats from the beginning till the end of this period.

The St. Joseph *Intelligencer* and the South Bend *Northwestern Pioneer*, of the years 1831 and 1832, record the arrival and departure of practically all the above-named boats.

The South Bend *Northwestern Pioneer*, under date of January 14, 1832, but a few months before the advent of the first steamboat on the lower end of the river, discussed the subject of steamboats as follows:

That the navigation of the St. Joseph River by steam boats is a subject of vast importance to the whole of the country watered by its tributary streams must be acceded to by everyone who has paid any attention to the almost magical effect of their introduction on the Mississippi, Ohio and their tributaries, and I believe it is practicable to navigate the St. Joseph with steamboats, even in its present natural state, for several months of the year, yet we may not hope that it can be successfully and efficiently prosecuted until its obstructions are removed.

The first steamboat was called the *Newburyport* and, in 1832, under the command of Captain White, made a trip as far up the river from St. Joseph as Berrien Springs, where she ran aground and was brought back to St. Joseph in a damaged condition. The idea was abandoned for that year, but in the following year, 1833, Deacon and McCaleb, of St. Joseph, built the *Matilda Barney*, a flat-bottomed stern-wheeler. Joseph Fisbay was the ship carpenter and P. B. Andrews built the engine. David Wilson was captain and Leveret Plum, engineer. The *Matilda* made her appearance in South Bend early in the summer of 1833 and was heartily welcomed by the citizens.

Lee P. Johnson related to the writer in 1895 an incident in connection with the arrival of the *Matilda* on her first trip. At that time (1833) Johnson was working as a printer in the office of the *Northwestern Pioneer*, a newspaper issued by John D. and Joseph H. Defrees, at a printing office on Vistula Avenue, South Bend (now number 115 Lincoln Way East). On the day of the arrival of the *Matilda Barney*, Johnson was in the office with Anthony Defrees and John M. Landon, typesetters, when the steamer's whistle was heard as she made her way up the river four or five miles below the town. At the sound of the whistle, the boys dropped their work and rushed out of the office on a run for the river bank, taking a direct cut in the direction of the foot of Market Street (now Colfax Avenue), jumping over the edge of the bluff and rushing down hill directly into and through the swamp lying below the bluff. They were in such a hurry and under such excitement that they did not follow around the edge of the bluff on high land, but plunged into the willows and floundered through the best they could. They paid no attention to the mud, so intent were they on gaining the bank of the river. Of course the steamer was not in sight, and they ran on down the west bank of the river. As Johnson said, had the steamer not come into view, they would have run to Niles. When they rounded the point at McCartney's



Creek, two miles below town, they saw the *Matilda* headed up stream, the whistle sounding almost continuously. The boys were terribly excited and immediately laid plans for boarding the boat. At that point the current swept toward the west bank to avoid a shallow place on the east side of the river, and the boys figured that the steamer would come quite close to the west bank where a huge basswood tree leaned quite a distance over the river. The boys started to climb the tree and run out on a horizontal limb, hoping to be able to drop on the steamer's deck when she passed under. The first man up the tree was Landon, who, in his excitement, lost his hold and fell into ten feet of water. Johnson and Defrees were obliged to help him land, and in the meantime the steamer swept past. The boys ran up the bank to intercept the boat at the next riffle, but it was impossible for them to gain a footing on her and they had to content themselves with racing on land. By this time the entire population had gathered on the shore and everyone was wild with excitement. The steamer did not stop until she ran her nose upon the sand at the foot of Washington Street.

A few days before the *Matilda* left St. Joseph, word was sent to Peter Johnson, who at that time was proprietor of the Michigan Hotel, which stood on the southwest corner of Michigan and Washington Streets (where the Frumas Central Drug store now is), that about one hundred people would come aboard her, and he was ordered to prepare dinner. When the boat landed all hands adjourned to Johnson's Hotel where a bountiful dinner was ready. The steamer left St. Joseph with a large contingent of citizens and picked up many persons at Berrien Springs and Niles, all anxious to participate in the pleasures of the first steamer trip up the river. No freight was carried on the trial trip, but on subsequent trips, which were quite regularly made, she was well loaded with merchandise, and towed from two to five keel boats as well. She was a success from the start and would have made money for her owners had she been allowed a monopoly of the river business.



In the next year, 1834, the steamer *Davy Crockett* was brought up the lake from Presque Isle, and began running on the river in competition with the *Matilda Barney*. The appearance of the two boats on the river was an event of much importance. A spirit of rivalry led their owners to take tows and carry passengers at cheaper rates than if there had been no competition.

One Nathan Young, of Berrien Springs, a poet and a wag, wrote, in 1834, the following verses, describing the "unpleasantness" between the boats and referring to the trip on which the *Matilda Barney* was so unfortunate as to run on a snag and break her wheel and had to be towed to St. Joseph by the *Crockett*. As both had stern wheels, she could only be towed by lashing her alongside, and the boats proceeded down the river in a close embrace. The "poem" is as follows:

Now Davy Crockett came to town, all dressed up like a dandy,  
From Presque Isle, he has come around, to spark Matilda Barney.  
Now Davy he approaching her, with her began to blarney,  
Your company's not wanted here, replied Matilda Barney.

Oh, how can you treat me so, my dearest Miss Matilda,  
Since you have got no other beau, and I love you so dearly.  
You appear to be a nice young man, replied Matilda Barney,  
You are also an obliging friend, more than I could wish to have you.

At length Matilda she grew lame, and Davy made toward her,  
She soon consented for him to see her safe to the mouth of the river.  
It was hand in hand, they both locked arms, and down they came together,  
Delighted with each other's charms, like a sister and a brother.

The *Pocahontas* was the next steamer, followed by the *Indiana*, the *Algona*, and the *Niles*. The *Niles* was built by William B. Beeson, of Niles, and was commanded by Captain Darius Jennings. In 1849, she was bought by the Michigan Central Railroad Company and run between Constantine and Niles.

The following, as far as can be learned, is a complete list of freight steamcraft running on the St. Joseph River from 1832 to the present time: *Newburyport*, *Matilda Barney*, *Davy Crockett*, *Pocahontas*, *Algona*, *Indiana*, *Mishawaka*, *John F. Porter*, *Michigan*, *Niles*, *Niles Jr.*, *St. Joseph*, *Union City*,

*Pilot, Magnolia, King Brothers, Kakota, Schuyler Colfax, May Graham, Constantine, Albany, Diamond, and Kalamazoo.*

All the above-named boats were intended primarily for carrying freight but took on such passengers as desired to use them. After the lock at South Bend was closed, four pleasure steamboats were built at South Bend for passenger traffic between that city and Mishawaka and for popular "moonlight" excursions. These boats were named the *Condon*, *J. C. Knoblock* (later re-named *Vandalia*), *Ben Hamilton* and *Tourist*. The *J. C. Knoblock*, the most pretentious boat ever run on the river, was built in 1882 and had a capacity of 800 to 1,000 passengers. It ran for several seasons over the four-mile stretch of river and afforded much pleasure to the thousands who patronized it. The other three boats were small, and in this day of internal combustion engines, would be called launches. The last river boat to operate in the freight and passenger service was the *May Graham* running between St. Joseph and Berrien Springs. She will be remembered by hundreds of citizens. Captain Fikes commanded her, and his wife served a very satisfactory dinner for the passengers. The *Graham* was withdrawn in 1908, and after lying quietly at St. Joseph for three years, was, in 1911, taken up on the Grand River, Michigan, and run from Grand Haven to within ten miles of Grand Rapids.

Before the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana Railroad was built through South Bend all the merchandise for our merchants was received by way of the river; until 1852, a heavy traffic was carried on. Horatio Chapin, who located in South Bend in 1831 and commenced business in a hewn log cabin on St. Joseph Street, once received a large consignment of goods by steamer on a Saturday afternoon. The goods were immediately piled out on the bank of the river, but no teams were to be had to haul them up to the store that afternoon. The next morning there were plenty of teams on hand, but no man nor beast could work for Mr. Chapin on a Sunday, so the goods lay there, exposed to the weather and with no one to look after them, until Monday morning. There were at that

time no warehouses or shelters of any kind to protect merchandise from the elements.

The incoming freight consisted of merchandise for our stores or the property of emigrants locating here. One of the staples from down the river was crackers, which, from 1840 to 1870, were made in Niles in large quantities, in fact this section of the country was supplied with Niles crackers, as that was the name by which all small crackers were known. The outgoing freight was grain, pork, flour, hides, furs, whiskey, pig iron, and iron castings. Within twenty miles of South Bend, up and down the river, there were eight distilleries and ten flour mills. From Mishawaka, where there were two blast furnaces and a forge, large quantities of pig iron and iron castings were shipped.

The landing place in South Bend before the dam, was built at Chapin's warehouse, just south of the La Salle Avenue bridge on the west side of the river, at what was then known as the old red warehouse, at the foot of Colfax Avenue.

As early as 1832, efforts were made to induce the federal government to improve the river and its harbor at St. Joseph. Mass meetings were held in 1832 at St. Joseph, Berrien Springs, and Niles, at which petitions were prepared and sent to Congress asking aid, but none was forthcoming. Again, in the year 1845, the traffic on the river having reached large proportions and the stage of water gradually lowering, attempts were made to procure aid from the federal government for making the river navigable at all seasons, and by larger boats, but without avail.

The Indiana legislature, at its annual sessions in 1845 and 1846, passed resolutions urging upon Congress the claims of the St. Joseph for an appropriation for its improvement. To these appeals, no response was made. A River and Harbor Convention was called at Chicago and held July 6, 1847. A number of delegates were appointed by the citizens of St. Joseph County, representing the interests of the St. Joseph River, but no favorable results were ever reached.

To show the importance of the river, a local writer of 1847 says :

We have here a river coursing through two States, and passing through, and in the vicinity of, an agricultural body of land without a superior in the West. For one hundred and seventy-five miles by the river distance, namely from Union City to St. Joseph, steamboats can navigate its waters and have done so, a length of steamboat navigation greater even than the Hudson. Four steamboats now ply upon it, and no one, we believe, has counted its commerce. In the spring and fall one can hardly look upon this beautiful stream without seeing a boat of some character deeply laden, sailing toward its mouth.

The manufacturers of iron, wood, wool, leather and other articles, which line its shores and the banks of its tributaries, and whose number is every year increasing with fast accelerating rapidity, together with eighty run of stone for the grinding of flour, already at work or being put in operation the present season, throws upon its waters an amount of exports which would surprise those who have not closely scanned the statistics of this fertile valley.

In 1844, the South Bend Manufacturing Company, the principal stockholders in which were A. R. and J. H. Harper, built the dam at South Bend, and, in order not to obstruct the river, which by law was navigable as far as Three Rivers, Michigan, put in a lock on the west side of the river at the foot of Washington Street, a short distance north of where the water works reservoir now is. The lock opened into the west race. The construction of the gates being faulty, a great deal of water leaked through them, which fact, together with the shallowness of the lock, made it necessary to drag the heavier boats through. Frequently the steamboat captain would sound his whistle to collect citizens enough to pull the boat through with ropes. It was not a situation conducive to a growth of traffic.

Because of the agitation for federal aid in dredging the river, a party of government engineers made a careful survey of the river from Elkhart to the mouth in 1879. The report was adverse to making the stream navigable, and as railroads had usurped the carrying trade to a large measure, the river was given over to power production.

The lock in the South Bend dam gradually fell into disuse, the gates at either end rotted away and were replaced by bulk-

heads and banked with earth. When the city water works was built, the lock was utilized as a tail race for the water from the wheels. Later a trunk was laid along its bottom to carry the tail water from the wheels, and it was partly filled up. In February, 1894, it was completely filled, and every vestige removed.

With the departure of the *May Graham* it is probable that the last remnant of hope as to the feasibility of ascending the river in steam-driven craft passed away, and that never more will the wooded shores and the green hills echo with the sound of a steam siren. The stream seems destined to become as peaceful as that gentle poet, Ben King, saw it, when he wrote lovingly:

Where the bumble bee sips when the clover is red,  
And the zephyrs come laden with peachblow perfume,  
Where the thistledown pauses in search of the rose  
And the myrtle and woodbine and wild ivy grows;  
Where the catbird pipes up and it sounds most divine  
Off there in the branches of some lonely pine:  
Oh, give me the spot that I once used to know  
By the side of the placid old river St. Joe.







THE JOURNEY OF  
LEWIS DAVID VON SCHWEINITZ  
to  
GOSHEN, BARTHOLOMEW COUNTY  
in 1831

*Translated By*  
ADOLF GERBER

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## INTRODUCTION

THE report which Lewis David von Schweinitz<sup>1</sup> made to the Provincial Helpers' Conference of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem,<sup>2</sup> Pennsylvania, of his journey in 1831 to Indiana and return to Bethlehem by way of Gnadenhutten and Sharon, Ohio, presents many points of interest. It gives an interesting chapter in the development of the Moravian Church in the United States, and an accurate account of the methods and conditions of travel between northeastern Pennsylvania and central Indiana. It throws light upon pioneer conditions in southern Indiana, and contains a vivid picture of an early settlement. It also includes notes of value made by a scientific botanist upon the flora of Indiana.

Lewis David von Schweinitz was born at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1780. His father, John Christian Alexander von Schweinitz,<sup>3</sup> was of an ancient and distinguished family of Silesia and his mother was a granddaughter of Count Zinzendorf. Both were devoted workers in the Moravian Church and served in Pennsylvania from 1770 up to the close of the

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<sup>1</sup>The German form of the name is Ludwig David von Schweinitz. In America the French form, "de Schweinitz," is as commonly used as the German, "von Schweinitz." In the letter to Martin Hauser in which a visit to Goshen is proposed, the signature is "De Schweinitz." His first name is sometimes spelled "Louis."

<sup>2</sup>Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on the Lehigh River, a name which is a modified form of the Indian "Lechai" or "Lechi," was the chief Moravian settlement in the United States, planted in 1741. A great many of the Moravian missionaries went out from this place. When two provinces of the Moravian Church were organized, Bethlehem remained the headquarters of the northern province; Salem, later Winston-Salem, North Carolina, being the headquarters of the southern province.

<sup>3</sup>Von Schweinitz, Rev. Paul D., "German Moravian Settlements in Pennsylvania, 1735-1800," *The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings*, vol. IV, p. 72 (Published by the Society, 1894).

century without compensation other than a house to live in.

Von Schweinitz received his early education at Nazareth Hall,<sup>4</sup> the Moravian meeting-house and school at Nazareth, Pennsylvania; while preparing for the ministry, he was also a great student of science, particularly of cryptogamic botany. In 1798 he went to Germany with his father and the rest of his family for the purpose of fuller classical and theological training at Niesky in Upper Lusatia.<sup>5</sup> There he devoted his leisure hours to the study of fungi. In recognition of a paper which he prepared on the species of the order found around Niesky, published at Leipsic in conjunction with Professor Albertini, the degree of Ph. D. was conferred upon him by the University of Kiel.

In 1812 he was called to Salem, North Carolina, to take charge of the property of the Moravian Church.<sup>6</sup> In December, 1821 he was transferred to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, as minister and principal of the school for girls. The following year he became administrator of church property.

In 1822 his great work, *A Synopsis of the Fungi of North America*, was presented to the American Philosophical

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<sup>4</sup>"At Nazareth, nine English Miles to the north of Bethlehem, there is built a roomy Meeting-hall called *Nazareth-hall*, in which the Brethren's Congregation which lives round about Nazareth in different places, *Gnadenthal* and *Christian's Spring*, has their divine Service on Sundays & festival Days. At Nazareth-hall there is also the Paedagogium of the Unity of the Brethren in America. Last year [1771] the building of a new Congregation Place near the Meeting-hall was begun." Spangenberg, Bishop August Gottlieb, "A Short Historical Account about the Present Constitution of the Protestant Unity of the Brethren of the Augustan Confession" (1772), translated by Bagge, Traugott (1778), in Fries, Adelaide L. (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, vol. III, p. 1986 (Raleigh, 1926).

<sup>5</sup>"Niesky, also in Upper Lusatia, [Electorate of Saxony] Germany on the *Manor of Trebus*, 12 miles from Görlitz. It was begun to be built in 1742, by exiles from Bohemia. Here is at present the Paedagogium of the protestant Unity of the Brethren." *Ibid.*, p. 981.

<sup>6</sup>Von Schweinitz' account of his journey to Salem from June 4 to September 16, in the opening days of the War of 1812, is being printed at Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany, with omissions and some changes of style. It will be published under the title, "Über Weltmeer." Salem, now part of the important city of Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina, was and still is an important Moravian center. According to Bishop Spangenberg (*op. cit.*, p. 988), it was founded in 1766.

Society of Philadelphia. In this he enumerated 3,098 different species, including 1,203 new to science.<sup>7</sup> During the same period he also prepared his *Monograph of the Carices of North America*, which was accepted and published by the New York Lyceum of Natural History.<sup>8</sup> As a scientist, von Schweinitz was further honored by having his name embodied in a genus of flowering plants of the heath family, *Schweinitzia*, represented by a brace of rare species, one of them at home in the mountains of the Carolinas and the other in Florida.

Twice, in 1818 and in 1825, von Schweinitz was sent as delegate to the Synod at Herrnhut,<sup>9</sup> Saxony, Germany, and on the latter occasion he was ordained "Senior Civilis."<sup>10</sup> Like his parents, he was always a devoted worker in the Moravian Church and was most conscientious in the discharge of his ministerial and financial duties.

In 1830 his health began to fail. His journey through Indiana made only a temporary improvement. He died February 8, 1834.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>The Library of Congress catalog gives the following title: *Synopsis fungorum Carolinae superioris secundum observationes Ludovici Davidis de Schweinitz*—Ed. a D. F. Schwaegrichen, 1822 (E Commentariis, Societatis naturae curiosorum lipsiensis excerpta).

<sup>8</sup>This was placed in the hands of Dr. John Torrey for publication, since von Schweinitz was called to Germany. He therefore insisted that the paper appear as a joint production, in recognition of the editing and a few additions made by Dr. Torrey. The Library of Congress Catalog gives: *The Correspondence of Schweinitz and Torrey*, ed. by C. L. Shear and Neil E. Stevens (New York, The Club, 1921).

<sup>9</sup>"Herrnhuth, in Upper Lusatia, on the high road that leads from Lobau to Zittau, on the Manor of Berthelsdorf, formerly the estate of Count Zinzendorf, now of Baron de Watteville. This place was begun to build in 1722, and the Congregation has in process of time been confirmed in its Regulations by Privileges from the Elector." Spangenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 981.

<sup>10</sup>The duties of the *Seniores civiles* were to inspect the decorum of the respective congregations and their observation of the national laws, and when necessary, to prevent any infringement of the rights and privileges granted them by the government. These officers, appointed and blessed by central church authorities, ranked between bishops and the presbyters.

<sup>11</sup>This sketch is based upon the notes of Dr. Adolf Gerber, the translator of the following report, upon Porter, Rev. Thomas C., "The Pennsylvania-German in the Field of the Natural Sciences." *The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings*, vol. VI, pp. 30-33 (Pub-



The congregation of United Brethren or Moravians at Hope (Goshen) which was the objective of Lewis David von Schweinitz, was formed by Martin Hauser and other settlers from Salem, North Carolina, about fourteen miles east of Columbus, Indiana. Von Schweinitz, as a member of the Provincial Church Board at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1830, advanced \$200 for the establishment of a church by these settlers. A rude log church was built and the first services in it were held on June 17, but the formal organization of the church awaited von Schweinitz' visit the following year. Martin Hauser was ordained to the ministry at Bethlehem in 1833, and became the first settled pastor. The church has maintained its identity and its activities down to the present time.<sup>12</sup>

When the settlers sought to obtain a post-office, the name, Goshen, which had been applied to the settlement itself was found to be duplicated in Goshen, Elkhart County, Indiana. Accordingly the post-office was given the new name, Hope, which it has retained to the present. The post-office of Hope was established February 8, 1834, with Martin Hauser as its first postmaster.<sup>13</sup>

For information about the relation of the North Carolina churches to those in Indiana, and the movement from the former to the latter, we are indebted to Miss Adelaide L. Fries, of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province. Miss Fries is a granddaughter of Lewis David von Schweinitz. She writes that a large loss of membership in North Carolina began about 1818, and assumes that much of it was due to the

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lished by the Society, 1896), and upon Hamilton, J. Taylor, *History of the Moravian Church*, pp. 357-61 (*Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, vol. VI, Bethlehem, Pa., 1900). The latter contains a full-page portrait of von Schweinitz, p. 361.

<sup>12</sup>"The Moravian Church of Hope," in *History of Bartholomew County, Indiana*, pp. 527-34 (Chicago, 1888); manuscript diaries of Martin Hauser and Sandford A. Rominger; manuscript church records at Hope. Photostats of the diary and reminiscences of Martin Hauser and of many of the church records are in the Indiana State Library. Early traditions of the church are unusually well preserved. Its Easter services draw many hundreds of visitors.

<sup>13</sup>Record of Indiana post-offices, Indiana State Library.

western movement. However, there is little definite information in the records at Salem prior to 1829, when the Provincial Elders' Conference gave official sanction to the Hope movement.

Miss Fries's translation of extracts from the minutes of the Provincial Elders' Conference, Salem, North Carolina, gives the background of the Indiana settlement:

*Sept. 8, 1829.* Some of our former neighbors have moved from this part of the country to the State of Indiana, whither our Br. and Sr. Martin Hauser,—who have been living outside Salem, N. C.—plan to go shortly. On his visit there last year Br. Hauser found his brother and certain others who belong to the Unity, who live near together, who desire a spiritual association, and greatly desire that they may be provided with a Brother belonging to the Unity who can serve them as pastor or preacher as soon as a sufficient number of them have associated themselves together. There is a prospect that the establishing of a Country Congregation there would be of service to that neighborhood and others for the kingdom of Christ. Br. Martin Hauser has taken up the matter with Br. von Schweinitz [of Bethlehem, Pa.] offering to take up a Quarter Section,—160 acres,—in the name of von Schweinitz; thinking that the land can be used for the support of a minister there, where money is likely to be scarce. Br. von Schweinitz approved the plan, especially as the land is fertile and cheap, that is \$1.25 per acre. Br. von Schweinitz has given Br. Martin Hauser a written statement of his thoughts and views, and has recommended the plan to this P[rovincial] E[lders'] C[onference], suggesting that the money be raised through private subscription or through an advance from the Administration here, in order that those who are seeking the preaching of the Gospel may be helped if possible.

As the carrying out of this recommended plan could be more easily accomplished by the Bethlehem P. E. C. than from here, it seems to us that for the present it will be best to advise that they do it. But as a preparation it is very necessary that some one shall receive a preliminary commission to serve as leader for the souls who are hungry for salvation, to visit them, hold meetings for reading, exhortation and prayer, as Br. Martin Hauser has set forth to this P. E. C.; and it seems to us that this Brother is himself fitted to act in this capacity, for we understand his position in the matter, and he has been successful in work of the same sort among awakened souls in this neighborhood. We therefore believe ourselves to be able to give him a written Call, and in order to avoid trouble we will also give him a letter of instructions, under which he can act. Br. Bechler will draw up the letter.

*Dec. 14, 1830.* The families who have moved from this neighborhood to Indiana are very anxious to have a Country Congregation established, and to have it served by an ordained minister of the Unity of Brethren [Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church]. Br. Martin Hauser has made this wish known to the Pennsylvania P. E. C., and has asked whether the matter ought to be presented to that P. E. C. or to this one. In his last letter Br. Anders has asked Br. Bechler for a speedy expression of the thoughts of this Conference in this matter, and especially whether the families who have moved thither should be

counted as belonging to the northern P. E. C. or to ours, for advice and direction. After again considering the matter we think on the one hand, as we did before, that while there is not much difference in the distance from here or from Bethlehem to Indiana, yet the postal facilities are better and the transportation cheaper from Pennsylvania, and so it would be better to have the work supervised from there. On the other hand it must be remembered that those who have moved thither are all North Carolinians, for whom it would be dear and interesting to maintain the connection with us and with their friends here, and they would always prefer to have teachers from here who were accustomed to the same customs, manner of living, and church observances, as they have already said, and they have suggested several Brethren. Moreover the success of the undertaking there demands that the Minister, along with other necessary qualifications, must be a good business man, and it seems hardly likely that such a man can be found in Pennsylvania. All of this argues on the other side. In order not to decide in too much haste, but to look ahead and consider the matter well, Br. Bechler will send these our thoughts to Br. Anders for the P. E. C. there, in order that each may learn the opinion of the other before the matter is closed.

*Sept. 23, 1839.* As collections of various kinds are often taken up in our town we cannot interfere with the efforts of Br. Jacob Schulz—who has recently returned from a visit to Indiana,—to secure private contributions toward the erection of a plain meeting house in Henrix [Hendricks] County, Indiana. Some of our neighbors have moved thither, and are too far from Hope, although Br. Martin Hauser has visited them several times a year. Br. Philips has given two acres of land as a site for the house, and for a Graveyard, for those who live there.

*May 4, 1840.* Some time ago Br. Martin Hauser asked the local P. E. C. for permission to send his two youngest daughters to school here, where he has many friends. The request came through the P. E. C. in Bethlehem, in which Province he is working as a minister. The answer has been sent that in view of his former service here the daughters will each be allowed \$50.00 a year, and Br. Hauser himself must pay the balance. Br. Van Vleck will write to Br. Hauser that we will take his daughters on these conditions, if place can be found for them in the town, for the boarding school is full.

*Sept. 25, 1840.* A letter from Br. Martin Hauser at Hope, Indiana, states that he plans to visit here in October, with his six children, bringing his two youngest daughters to the school here.

*May 8, 1841.* The question arises regarding Brethren from Wachovia who have moved to Illinois:—would it not be worth the trouble to do as was done in Hope, Indiana, and have the Unity buy some Sections of land, and its value would soon double, and it would provide place for the building of a school house, and other buildings? Our idea is that there would be no objection to the buying of some Sections of land if that were all there would be to it. So long as those settlers were satisfied with their own services it would be all right; but soon they would ask for Brethren who could administer the Sacraments, and then they would want a stationed minister, which would bring with it heavy expense and many difficulties, as has been the case at Hope.

As Br. Van Vleck is writing to Br. Benade he shall do well, perhaps, to mention our thoughts about the Illinois matter, and he might ask whether the P. E. C. there would be willing to instruct Br. Martin

Hauser to extend his Diaspora journeys to Edwards County, Ill., that he might visit the settlers from Wachovia, and that they would take further consideration of this matter into their hands.

June 25, 1841. Two letters have been received from Br. Benade. The P. E. C. in Bethlehem have considered the matter of the settlers in Edwards County, Ill., will send either Br. Ebermann or Hauser there on a visit, and will buy several lots of land.<sup>14</sup>

The manuscript journal of Lewis David von Schweinitz' trip to Indiana of which a translation is here presented is in the Archiv der Brüder-Unitat in Herrnhut, Saxony.<sup>15</sup> It was brought to the attention of the Indiana Historical Society by Dr. Adolf Gerber, formerly of Earlham College, who has supplied a copy of the original German text as well as the English translation.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Gerber states that von Schweinitz completed his report in August, 1831, a month after his journey, and that it or a copy of it was sent from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to Herrnhut. The manuscript in the archives of the United Brethren at Herrnhut has marginal corrections and bears the annotations, "ausgefertigt L. v. Stz Sept. 32" (submitted by Lewis von Schweinitz, September, 1832), and "zum 2t. mal ausgearbeitet Dec. 1833, L. v. s." (worked over again December, 1833 L. v. S.). This latter annotation refers, according to Dr. Gerber, to an abridgment of the report, which was submitted to the Unity's Elders' Conference and printed in the *Gemein Nachrichten*<sup>17</sup> in January, 1833. In the present translation marginal corrections on the manuscript are incorporated in the text.

The translation furnished by Dr. Gerber has been modified in the interest of fluency. No attempt has been made to follow the paragraphs, and lack of paragraphing, in the original manuscript. Notes have been supplied by Dr. Gerber,

<sup>14</sup>The *Memorabilia* of 1849, in the appended statistics, notes that "New Salem, Ill. has 95 communicants."

<sup>15</sup>The manuscript is numbered R. 14. A. 36 No. 37.

<sup>16</sup>The copy of the original German text is in the possession of the Indiana State Library.

<sup>17</sup>The *Gemein Nachrichten* were communications from the Unity's Elders' Conference in Germany which kept the provinces informed of the activities of the General Synod and all other church concerns. A package of *Nachrichten* was received with great stir and excitement in the early settlements, where they were read before a large gathering of the brethren.

George Pence, of Columbus, Irma Ulrich, of the State Historical Bureau, and myself. Modern botanical terms have been supplied by Charles C. Deam, state forester of Indiana. For financial contributions toward this publication we are indebted to Charles C. Deam, of Bluffton, and William G. Irwin, of Columbus. The preparation of the manuscript for the press has been for the most part in charge of Irma Ulrich.

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN,  
*Secretary, Indiana Historical Society*



# THE JOURNEY OF LEWIS DAVID VON SCHWEINITZ FROM BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA, TO GOSHEN, INDIANA, IN 1831

## REPORT

OF A journey undertaken, for the restoration of his health, by Brother Lewis David von Schweinitz, accompanied by Brother Eugene Alexander Frueauf,<sup>1</sup> on behalf of the Provincial Helpers' Conference,<sup>2</sup> for the purpose of visiting the congregation who recently settled in Goshen,<sup>3</sup> Bartholomew County, Indiana, from North Carolina, and also our two congregations at Gnadenhuetten<sup>4</sup> and Sharon,<sup>5</sup> Ohio. This journey extended from May 31 to July, 1831.

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<sup>1</sup>Frueauf was a nephew of von Schweinitz. In 1856 he was appointed administrator of general church finances, and in 1864 he was elected by Synod as a member of the Board of Visitors, created at that time as an advisory council to the Provincial Elders' Council in all concerns of the college and theological seminary. He was later principal of Linden Hall Seminary, at Lititz, Pennsylvania. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, pp. 407, 447, 485.

<sup>2</sup>The congregation at Hope, Indiana, belonged to the northern province whose headquarters were at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The Provincial Helpers' Conferences were created at the 18th General Synod at Marienborn, in 1769, to govern the subordinate branches of the British and American provinces. They were appointed by and responsible to the Unity's Elders' Conference and not to the congregations whose general interests they superintended. After 1848 the Provincial Helpers' Conference was made responsible to the American Provincial Synod, when that body was given authority to convene itself at stated intervals. *American Church History Series*, vol. VIII, pp. 468, 489 (New York, 1894).

<sup>3</sup>Now the town of Hope. See Introduction.

<sup>4</sup>Now spelled Gnadenhutzen, in Tuscarawas County.

<sup>5</sup>Sharon was founded in 1815 through the efforts of Jacob Blickensderfer.



## [THE JOURNEY TO MADISON, INDIANA]

At the urgent request of our brethren and sisters from North Carolina who are settling in Bartholomew County, Indiana, to the Provincial Helpers' Conference that, during the course of the summer, they might be encouraged by the visit of an ordained brother, the most necessary institutions be established among them, and the holy sacraments administered, we promised them to see that this was done.<sup>6</sup>

As it was thought that an extended journey, which the dear brethren urged upon me, would aid in the restoration of my long-impaired health, and since I would have to take such a journey this spring or summer, anyway, it seemed proper to give it this direction, so that at the same time the above promise might be fulfilled and the Conference also might be given, from a personal inspection by one of its members, more exact knowledge of the whole situation and the important opportunity recommended to it in the state of Indiana.

Trusting that the Lord would graciously assist me in the considerable hardships and privations to be anticipated upon such a journey, which could be taken only on the public stages, I gladly accepted the commission given me by my dear colleagues, especially since they allowed me my dear nephew, Brother Eugene Frueauf, for a companion. It would have been too much of a venture to undertake such a journey all alone.

I recovered from the heavy discomfiture of winter in a gratifying manner at the end of February and the beginning of March. After a visit in Philadelphia in the month of April, I suffered an alarming relapse which, with the renewal of the

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<sup>6</sup>Martin Hauser had arrived in Bartholomew County, whither some of his North Carolina neighbors had preceded him, about the end of 1829. Von Schweinitz had labored in North Carolina before taking up his work at Herrnhut. See Introduction. A letter from von Schweinitz to Hauser, dated at Bethlehem, October 29, 1830, promising that an ordained brother would visit the Indiana settlement and stating that an appointment of Hauser as agent was enclosed, is preserved in the church records at Hope. A photostat of it is in the Indiana State Library.

violent cough that seems to be at the bottom of my whole illness, produced a tightness in my chest, not felt to that degree before. I also felt a languor of my mental powers which was so depressing that I scarcely knew whether I dare go. Nevertheless I felt an overpowering impulse to enter upon the journey in the name of the Lord who gave me courage, although I did not feel relief until the eve of my departure from Bethlehem, on Ascension Day, May 12th. At the evening meeting on this day, I bade farewell to the dear congregation at Bethlehem and commended myself and my commission to their loving remembrance and prayer.

After a sorrowful but, at the same time, hopeful parting from our family, we began our journey to Philadelphia by stage coach on Friday morning, May 13th, at seven o'clock, in cheerily bright weather. I had chosen the roundabout way through Philadelphia and Baltimore in order not to be exposed at the beginning of the trip to the great and uninterrupted hardships of a stage coach journey to Pittsburgh, but to have an interval of some days of rest; a measure which proved to be very wise. The ride to Philadelphia, on which for the most part we had little company, was pleasant and left us time to do some little errands and to make calls before night.

At six o'clock in the morning of the 14th, we betook ourselves on board the steamer and greeted some friends, who introduced us to several interesting persons among the numerous passengers. We began the delightful ride, in excellent weather, down the river to the new town of Delaware, a few miles below Newcastle, at the mouth of the splendid ship-canal. This canal now connects the Delaware with the Chesapeake Bay, opposite the fortress on Peapatch, which was destroyed by fire only a short while ago. It is needless to give a detailed description of the comfort, elegance, and speed of travel on these magnificent and large steamers upon which one dines almost better than in the best hotels. It is also easy to imagine the charm of floating down the river, covered with ships,

and along the occasionally beautiful banks. Since the route to Baltimore is not apt to be overcrowded—perhaps seventy or eighty passengers at most—everything can be enjoyed in comfort. As for conversation, it is by all means very desirable to be introduced to some fellow-passenger since otherwise, as is well known, in America, it is difficult to engage in conversation.

Soon after ten o'clock we arrived at the entrance of the canal, left the steamer, and went down a board walk several hundred paces long to the packetboat lying in the canal. This boat is drawn by five briskly trotting horses and is fitted up with the same splendor and comfort. In spite of the summer heat we remained on deck most of the time and enjoyed the interesting trip, fourteen English miles long, right across the state of Delaware. For a long time the canal runs through great swamps and ponds. One must be acquainted with the history of this country in order to realize the difficulties of the great enterprise which has cost over four million dollars. These difficulties are by no means obvious, as hardly anything is seen but a path, rising a few feet above the water, for the horses. To achieve this was the great task, since the filling required endless efforts. In many places one hundred feet of sand were excavated before firm soil was reached. A daily increasing navigation passes through this canal from the Chesapeake Bay to the Delaware, and vice versa. We met a large number of vessels which were all drawn by horses. There were only two locks. About seven miles from the Delaware the so-called Deep Cut, which is three miles long, is reached. Here the canal is cut right through the sandhills, to a depth of one hundred feet at the highest point, and a wonderful one-arch bridge, which serves as a highway across the canal, extends across the excavation at an incredible height. It requires great effort to keep the sides of this immense excavation from caving in. Soon after it is passed, the canal debouches into Back Creek, an inlet of the Chesapeake Bay, where one boards another

steamer, which is lying ready. After a ride of some length upon the narrower branches of this bay, we reached its wider expanse, as smooth as glass that day and covered with countless large and small craft, and sailed along, not far from the mouths of its great rivers such as the Susquehannah. The ride becomes supremely beautiful after one has entered the Patapsco at North Point and approaches the city of Baltimore past Fort McHenry and the Lazaretto.<sup>7</sup> We arrived there quite early, having covered the whole distance of 130 English miles from Philadelphia, according to the newspapers, in a little less than ten hours.

I had intended to spend Sunday, the 15th, quietly in Baltimore, but soon found that I should have to wait until Tuesday morning, unless I wanted to go by the stage coach proper, which covers the 266 miles to Wheeling on the Ohio in three and a half days without nightly stops, which seemed to me to be too much of a venture. The accommodation coach, which allows nightly rests of several hours, leaves Baltimore only every other day. I readily agreed to this delay, for there could be no lack of pleasant acquaintances as we had received, that very night, a very kind invitation for the next day from Mr. William Frick, a highly esteemed lawyer and former pupil of Nazareth Hall. Apart from seeing the most interesting things in the city during the next two days—on Monday, we were often in the company of the Lutheran minister, Mr. Uhlhorn, who was exceedingly kind to us—we spent many pleasant hours at Mr. Frick's, who introduced me also to several naturalists whom I did not yet know personally. Meanwhile Brother Frueauf had an opportunity to meet again, to their mutual pleasure, many of his former fellow-pupils of Nazareth Hall.

The renewal of my acquaintance at Mr. Frick's, with Mr. William Winchester, an old schoolmate of mine, whom I have

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<sup>7</sup>The Lazaretto, authorized by the General Assembly of Maryland in 1801, was used for smallpox patients. It is now used as a workshop for the lighthouse near by, to which its name has been transferred.

not seen for almost forty years, was quite unexpected, but all the more delightful, because I was under the impression that I had heard of his death long ago. Mr. Winchester is the present director of the city water works. Besides happily recalling times long gone by, it was particularly gratifying to me to hear from him the statement that he was fully convinced that he owed it to the deep impressions of religion received during his schooling at Nazareth, that its heavenly consolation had never forsaken him among all the varying experiences of life. He knew that the same was also true of his sisters, who were educated at Bethlehem at that time and who had had to endure very great afflictions. Of course the state of my health forbade me to comply with Mr. Uhlhorn's request to preach in his church on Sunday, just as I had to deny myself all strenuous walking. From here I wrote home for the first time and could report an improvement of my health which surpassed my expectation.

Early on the 17th we were ready for the carriage which was to take us shortly to the depot of the Baltimore Railroad,<sup>8</sup> recently completed as far as this part is concerned. On this route one travels the first eleven miles to Ellicott's Mills by rail and not until then does he board the regular stage coach. This immense enterprise is to be continued to the Ohio—and twenty-eight more miles have actually been completed in the course of this summer—in order to preserve part of the western commerce for Baltimore. However greatly exaggerated the expectations for these enterprises may be, they are, nevertheless, worthy of admiration. Surely the owners of real estate in a city like Baltimore may well invest several hundred thousand dollars in such enterprises without much hope of considerable return from their charges, if, thereby, the value of their real estate in the city is doubled or trebled. This really seems to be the way they are calculating and it has already, in great measure, proved correct. I am not in a posi-

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<sup>8</sup>The Baltimore and Ohio. To von Schweinitz, as late as May, 1831, the enterprise consisted of laying rails so as to increase the load horses could draw. He says nothing of locomotives.



tion to describe the work here, since we could make only imperfect observations during the drowsy ride in the rather uncomfortable railroad coach, which, in spite of its size and load (about twenty persons), was drawn by only one horse.

At Ellicott's Mills we had an unusually poor breakfast, at a very high price, and then got into the comfortable accommodation coach running to Hagerstown by way of Frederic[k]-town. Through Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties one strikes hardly any good land except where there are immense plantations of wealthy proprietors, as, for example, that of the well-known Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, where the homes of the negroes form whole villages; one also strikes, besides, a few miserable looking places such as Lisbon, New Market, and the like. Nevertheless, the entire road between Hagerstown and Baltimore was covered with an unparalleled number of six-horse teams, all carrying flour to the city. We counted over three hundred of them this day. After having progressed a considerable distance in Frederic[k] County, we enjoyed the splendid fertile region, which kept increasing in charm and beauty as far as Hagerstown in Washington County. An intervening range of hills afforded an excellent opportunity for an outlook, far and wide, without interfering much with the unusually fine turnpike, upon which we were proceeding so fast. We reached the town soon after sunset, after having traveled eighty odd miles this day. We could enjoy a longer rest than we had expected, because we did not start again until four o'clock on the morning of the 18th. That morning I awoke with peculiar feelings, thinking of my dear wife who was celebrating her birthday that day, and all day long, I was with her and my family in spirit a great deal.

From here on we found the coach well filled. The lovely fertile country was gradually approaching the mountains, which, however, were not actually to be traversed this day, since the road descends into the valley of the Potomac and continues in it as far as Hancock. Here the state of Maryland grows exceedingly narrow because, as is well known,



the Potomac which all along forms the boundary between it and Virginia approaches the southern boundary of Pennsylvania within two or three miles. Farther west in Allegheny County the state expands again considerably. Although mountainous, the turnpike remained good; we made only fifty-six miles this day, however, and spent the night at an isolated inn.

By breakfast time on the 19th we reached the town of Cumberland, where begins the ill-famed National Road, which was to connect the western with the Atlantic states across the Allegheny Mountains. It was constructed several years ago by enormous appropriations by Congress, and satisfied all requirements by effecting a welcome improvement in transportation, but at present, especially here in the mountains, it has relapsed again into a deplorable state of decay in consequence of the violent controversies which have arisen about it. As is well known, a large party denies to the United States any constitutional right, even with the consent of the individual states, to spend money on internal improvements, since this is the business of the individual states; just as it is admitted there exists no right to levy turnpike tolls. The latter fact has prevented the necessary annual repairs of the National Road because new appropriations for it were, for the most part, refused. A large part of the road has therefore got into such a condition that it is inadvisable, on account of the cost of the repairs immediately devolving upon them, for the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania to take it over from the federal government, as the state of Ohio has lately done with its part of the road, which is still in good condition. Travelers to whom, as to us, the beginning of this great work is indicated by a loaded wagon, lying completely overturned at the bottom of a sharp, deep incline, and whose bones are jolted to pieces on the terribly torn-up road, would find less difficulty in overcoming the constitutional scruples which prevent the repairs of this road than do the gentlemen in Congress in their upholstered seats. It is to be

greatly regretted that the millions spent on it in so useful a way must be regarded as thrown away. At times it was better to go on foot. I could not, however, do this very long, although it afforded me much botanical enjoyment in the higher mountain regions where, by the way, the oaks and similar trees were just beginning to put forth their foliage. In addition we had a severe thunderstorm and a rather heavy rain. About eight o'clock in the evening we entered the state of Pennsylvania and spent the night at Smithfield in a romantic mountain valley.

The ride on the 20th began at four o'clock in the morning and, as the condition of the road improved, it soon grew very interesting. From the crest of the last Allegheny Mountain range, Laurel Hill, one enjoys an incomparably wide and splendid outlook over the western country, and finds that he is now in the great Mississippi Valley into which all streams west of the mountains are gathered. At the important town of Union<sup>9</sup> in Fayette County, the Yohiogany<sup>10</sup> is crossed and at Brownsville, whence steamboats go to Pittsburgh, the Monongahela is crossed by ferry. Fayette and Washington counties are distinguished by very charming, cultivated, but quite hilly regions, in which unusually extensive sheep breeding is to be seen. In the county seat of the latter, which has the same name, a large steam mill was burnt in the preceding night. We found excellent night lodgings there and since there was not any hurry, we did not proceed upon our journey to Wheeling until after breakfast on the 21st.

The road here is still in a passable condition and exceedingly charming, in part even romantic. Right after the little town of West Alexandria, which was almost entirely burnt down two weeks ago, we reached the state of Virginia,<sup>11</sup> a long narrow strip of which penetrates far north between the straight west line of Pennsylvania and the Ohio. At the same

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<sup>9</sup>Uniontown.

<sup>10</sup>The Youghiogheny flows east of Uniontown which is on a smaller tributary of it.

<sup>11</sup>This region is now a part—the "Panhandle"—of West Virginia.

time we reached the valley of Wheeling Creek, which, after two o'clock, we crossed perhaps thirty times on small bridges, finally reaching the town of Wheeling on the great Ohio River.

I planned to embark here on the Ohio and to make the journey as far as Madison, in the state of Indiana, by water. After spending the remainder of the day pleasantly and resting well after the ride, which had been much less fatiguing than I expected, we awaited a steamer on a rainy Whitsunday, the 22nd. A large number of these vessels, of from one to five hundred tons, are constantly plying the river from Pittsburgh down to Louisville and even all the way to New Orleans. At places like Wheeling they generally put to shore to see whether passengers are to be had. Of course, however, they cannot keep any definite hours and it is necessary to wait till a boat going in the desired direction appears. The "Potomac," with Captain Stone in command, appeared soon after ten o'clock; it was, to be sure, one of the smaller steamers, yet had excellent furnishings. We therefore did not find it worth while to wait for a larger one and agreed with the captain on ten dollars a person for the passage to Louisville, Kentucky, at the great falls of the Ohio, a distance of 550 English miles, which he hoped to cover within three and a half days. Board, which is as good as at the best inns, is included in that rate. We had decided to go all the way to Louisville, although it is fifty odd miles farther than necessary, because otherwise we should have arrived too early at Madison to go immediately on the stage coach into the interior. The cost was only slightly increased thereby, and it was desirable to see this important commercial town in Kentucky.

By far the most of the steamers on the Ohio and Mississippi are so-called high pressure boats, from which superfluous steam escapes every minute automatically through a pipe, making a fearful noise, which in still weather and evenings can be heard over four miles on the river. The whole con-

struction of these vessels is very different from that of the steamers on the northern rivers. The larger ones have three decks, rising one above the other, the length of a frigate. The cabins for the ladies and gentlemen are usually on the upper deck; on ours, they were on the lower, back of the engines. All are equipped not only for passengers, but also for heavy freight, as they carry an immense trade. They are, nevertheless, always crowded with passengers because, besides the large number in the cabins, crowds of deck passengers, emigrants, and so forth—often with horses and wagons—make use of them.

Life on such a steamer is quite unique. The throng of people, the noise of the steam, the continuous, pulsating vibration; the changing scenes of the glorious, almost wholly wooded, hilly banks of the gigantic river, which here and there form valleys, either receding or approaching, with newly settled towns and active cultivation frequently seen on both sides; charming groups of islands around which one navigates with great caution to avoid hidden snags and dangers of all sorts; the close perpendicular river banks, always the same, with their denuded, horizontal stratifications—all these make a combination which one must see and hear in order to comprehend, especially to realize the impression one gets when these scenes remain almost entirely the same for days and nights. The cabins and berths, usually most elegantly decorated, are fitted up as comfortably as can possibly be desired, and nowhere is an opportunity wanting to spend the time pleasantly in viewing the interesting scenes.

Very often a short stop is made in order to replenish, from the long rows of corded wood piled up for this purpose all along the bank, the stock on board, which is kept small in order not to lose space for freight. Vessels going upstream, however, take flatboats, lying ready for this purpose, loaded with wood, with them for some distance until their supply is hauled aboard; then the flatboats can easily go back to their places with the current. From time to time calls are made

at small towns, where passengers, and occasionally also freight, are taken on and off; and whenever a signal is given from the bank, the small boat puts off to pick up passengers who desire to come along. When one becomes accustomed to the noise of the steam and the pulsating vibrations, one enjoys a good rest by night and day in the comfortable berths.

Aside from the steamers, the river is still plied by many keelboats and flatboats which come principally from the smaller streams flowing into it, but they go almost exclusively downstream. Frequently we meet other steamers which are a wonderful sight, especially by night, as their fire is seen from afar. On the steep banks close at hand, there is an opportunity to observe closely the origin of the dangerous snags which hinder navigation so much on the Ohio and still more on the Mississippi. Everywhere are to be seen living and dead trees, of large and medium size, the whole root system of which has gradually been denuded of all earth; they are swept into the river by the high floods. The weight of the entanglement, which hangs on the roots, sinks them somewhere and causes them to get fastened in the mud at the bottom. The branches soon break off and the trunk stays, retaining a slanting position in the direction of the current. It knocks most dangerous holes in vessels, which, going upstream during the night or in a fog, happen upon such a snag, as it is called. In the course of this year several of the largest steamers on the Mississippi have been wrecked in this way. In dense fog it is therefore customary to anchor, especially when going upstream.

It is strange how insignificant the mouths of the large rivers, such as the Muskingum, Scioto, and the Miami on the Ohio side, and the two Kanawhas and the Kentucky on the opposite side, appear, principally on account of the deep indentations into which they flow and which are generally seen only at an angle. However interesting such a trip may be, one still needs reading matter to keep from becoming bored, if it lasts for days, just as on the ocean.



On the 24th, about half past two o'clock, we made the first stop of any length at the exceedingly beautiful city of Cincinnati, which contains almost 30,000 inhabitants. We remained here a couple of hours since part of the cargo had to be unloaded. We availed ourselves of the opportunity to look around a little in the city, but only in the vicinity of the curious landing place where the steep river bank, paved and graded off to a sloping surface, forms a large square surrounded by buildings, which, by the time we arrived here again on our return, had been almost consumed by fire. Little distress was shown, however, because the buildings were of small value and now are to be replaced by large, magnificent ones.

Very early in the morning of the 25th, we arrived at Madison, where again freight and passengers were landed, and then we proceeded at high speed to Louisville. From the beginning of our boat trip, down to below Cincinnati, we had the states of Ohio and Indiana on our right side; on our left, we had Virginia down to the mouth of the Sandy River, and then Kentucky. The name of a certain little town below Madison we learned, curiously enough, was Bethlehem. It is, indeed, quite strange how the same place-names are repeated innumerable times in the West, to the great inconvenience and uncertainty of addresses. Washington, Columbus and Columbia, Salem, and Alexandria are names met with almost every other day, as if no new names could be invented any more. It is a matter of regret that the often euphonious Indian geographical names are so rarely used, especially for the rivers. To change the designation of the second branch of the Muskingum, which together with Tuscarawas, forms this river, from the Indian Walhonding into White Woman is bad taste.<sup>12</sup>

The approach to Louisville, the flourishing and leading commercial city of Kentucky, was very pleasant. Only when the landing is reached—where we counted eighteen steamers

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<sup>12</sup>The name Walhonding is now used. The Walhonding and the Tuscarawas unite at Coshocton.

at that time—does one see the loud-roaring, rocky reef which here interrupts the navigation of the Ohio and changes its otherwise quiet current into raging waters. The level of the river was at that time still too high to admire the beauty of this cataract; indeed, at the very highest level, it disappears almost entirely. A two-mile canal, cut through the rocks from Louisville, has now been completed at great cost, so that the steamers from New Orleans can now go up to the town, instead of being compelled as formerly to remain at Shippingsport to unload.

We found accommodations in a very elegant hotel and on this day and the following, we examined everything noteworthy and worth seeing, in which we were aided by the courtesy of a merchant, Mr. Danforth, to whom we were recommended. The canal, its locks, and the immense commercial activity formed a prominent part of the sights. The town itself contains many fine buildings and is quite large. Below the falls, on the opposite side in the state of Indiana, there is also a considerable town, New Albany.

#### [IN INDIANA]

As we were very anxious not to miss the stage coach, which, according to Brother Martin Hauser,<sup>13</sup> left Madison

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<sup>13</sup>Martin Hauser, virtually the founder of the Moravian Church and first postmaster of the village, was born September 23, 1799, at Salem, North Carolina. In 1821 he joined the Moravian Church by confirmation; in 1822 he was married to Susanna Chitty. He made three trips west, visiting his brother, Jacob, in Indiana in 1820; Gnadenhutten, Ohio, in 1827; and Indiana again in 1828. Receiving encouragement from von Schweinitz in a conference at Bethlehem in the spring of 1829, he left Salem with his wife, September 29, 1829, arriving at Bartholomew County, October 28. He entered a quarter section on Haw Creek, and receiving \$200 from von Schweinitz, entered the land on which Hope was laid out. He organized a Sunday school and church. On March 19, 1833, he was ordained deacon at Bethlehem. He received no salary as minister at Hope. In 1838 he resigned his charge there, but continued to visit Moravian groups at Enon, Tough Creek, New Holland, Coleman's and Warren's schoolhouses, and in Hendricks County. In 1846 he was finally granted permission to organize a society at Enon, five miles south of Hope.

In 1847 he was sent to Edwards County, Illinois, where he founded New Salem, later West Salem. He preached also occasionally at Woods Prairie, Wannboro, Albion, and Olney. His wife died May 2, 1867. On June 21, 1868, he married Eliza Spaugh, widow, and spent

for Columbus every Saturday, we decided to start on our return journey about six o'clock in the evening, on the 26th, on our steamer, the "Potomac," which was returning with cargo. This afforded us the enjoyment of an indescribably glorious moonlight evening on the river until late into the night—followed, however, by an unsatisfactory rest, which was interrupted two hours sooner than necessary by the false report that we had arrived at Madison, when it was only London. We actually arrived about four o'clock in the morning, when we were disembarked with our baggage in great haste upon a floating pier or wharf, provided with a watchman. Fortunately, however, we found a porter who carried our things to Mr. Pugh's Inn in town. There we at once learned that, owing to impassable roads and missing bridges, the stage coach had not yet been able to run this year, but that it was expected to do so for the first time four days later. As there was no other way of getting to Bartholomew County, we had to resign ourselves to this tedious delay, which promised to be deprived of part of its disagreeableness by several letters of introduction which I had to gentlemen of this place. When we finally went to breakfast at seven o'clock, we were not a little surprised to see our Bethlehem friend, Captain Schulz, of the cavalry, who is established in the vicinity of Cincinnati. He was here on business and remained until the evening of the following day.

In the course of the forenoon, I delivered to Mr. [William] Hendricks, senator of the United States, my letter of introduction addressed to him, whereupon he informed us that, at ten o'clock that morning, there commenced a so-called four days' "meeting" of the Presbyterians and took me to church with him at once. Such "meetings" are held everywhere to produce revivals and were continued daily during our entire stay here without interruption, save for meals and short intermissions, from nine o'clock in the morning until after eleven

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most of the rest of his life at Hope. He died on October 25, 1875. Hauser Diary, photostat copy in the Indiana State Library.

o'clock at night. After a very brief address several members of the church were asked to offer prayer, and hymns were sung in the intermissions. Sometimes, also, members of the congregation were asked to sing a hymn, which they did, but it was always the same, "Alas! and did my Savior bleed." Then the various ministers present likewise offered long prayers, sang hymns, and delivered very eloquent sermons. After the first prayer meeting, at which, among others, a venerable old man offered a touching evangelical prayer in simple, heartfelt language—which unfortunately he repeated just the same way every day—Mr. Hendricks introduced me to Mr. John-s[t]on,<sup>14</sup> the Presbyterian minister here, and several other gentlemen, all members of the church, the ones to whom I had my letters of introduction to deliver. They expressed themselves pleased to see me here, but could not take any other notice of me under the circumstances.

Owing to my misunderstanding a question which Mr. John-s[t]on asked me, I had the terrible experience at the close of the sermon, when it was already two o'clock, to hear announced from the pulpit that a Moravian preacher present would preach at three o'clock in the afternoon. I felt entirely unable to do so, particularly after a sleepless night, without any preparation and without knowledge of the spirit reigning here, of which so far I had received the impression that, though it aimed at the Good, it sought to force it and bring it about in a manner with which I could by no means agree. I therefore felt obliged to correct this error in public and to allege among other reasons the state of my health, which forbade me to preach in public at the time—and it

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<sup>14</sup>The Reverend James Harvey Johnston, a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, arrived at Madison in 1824 as representative of the Domestic Missionary Society of New York. He was a pastor at Madison for eighteen years. After 1843 Crawfordsville was the center of his activities. He died in 1876 after a service in Indiana of fifty-one years—the longest in the annals of the Presbyterian Church in the state. See Edson, Harrford A., *Contributions to the Early History of the Presbyterian Church in Indiana, together with Biographical Notices of the Pioneer Ministers*, Index (Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, 1898).

certainly would have had the most injurious consequences to me on account of the inevitable great uneasiness in which I should have been. This reason had to be accepted, but it also necessarily precluded my mounting the pulpit on any of the following days, when it might have been possible. However, Mr. Johns[t]on very kindly took me to his small dwelling with him and kept me for dinner, where also Mr. Cushman, the delegate of the Society from Cincinnati which is carrying on these efforts, was staying. Although when I left his house, Mr. Johns[t]on invited me to call often—since it was impossible for me to remain the whole time at the church—I could not make up my mind to inconvenience him again, especially since more and more ministers arrived and overcrowded his house. Furthermore, I could not possibly feel called upon to take part in these proceedings, as oftentimes I could not have done so without denying my convictions.

Upon the whole, I cannot deny, indeed, that the teachings propounded contained the gospel, and some of the discourses heard during that time—for I spent all the forenoons at the church—were truly evangelical and edifying. Others, to the contrary, which were intended to arouse the sinners, either wholly kept from them Him who has come to seek and save what is lost, or else put Him in the background. The angry Jehovah, however, represented as an avenger, was described in fearful manner as endeavoring to strike them down before they reached refuge. The love of Jesus for the repenting sinner, which attracts him and encourages him when he is weary and heavily laden, to seek refuge with Him, was not mentioned at all or only quite incidentally.

On Sunday afternoon the Lord's Supper was celebrated, for which a solemn invitation was issued to all who wished to partake in it, without distinction of denomination, provided they were communicants of a church which accepted a long series of precepts, which were pronounced so indistinctly that I understood but few of them. I was not without concern, that my standing back and taking little part therein might



make a disadvantageous impression, particularly after the public announcement made known to the whole town that I was a minister, but I felt unable to take part without doing violence to my convictions. I refrained, however, from all comment on the manifold and varied remarks which I overheard, the most painful of which concerned the everyday life of many of the most zealous participants in this movement.

From Sunday on, when those in whom the Spirit was manifest, were repeatedly asked to come forward in public, the prayers and discourses were most eagerly directed at producing expressions of revival. Some young women had finally stepped up in the evening and were worked upon, in public and in private, with indescribable zeal. During the whole time the church was crowded.

On Monday, the 30th, without any noticeable interference with the meetings, a very large muster of militia was held, at which a number of candidates at the impending elections for Congress, state governor, and Assembly, made speeches to the people and great excesses were committed. Although no drinks at all are served in respectable inns, I have rarely seen so many people drunk and nowhere so many brawls and rows, for the populace of Indiana develops a fearful rudeness on such occasions.

The somewhat painful situation in which I was placed under these circumstances did not make this four days' stay agreeable, particularly as there was wholly lacking a suitable place in which to sit down at the inn, and I longed exceedingly to go further. For this reason, we felt not a little embarrassed, when, instead of the expected stage coach, news came Monday evening by the arriving postman that it was still impossible to get through and that we should have to wait again until Friday. This induced us to try our utmost to get off in some other way. The landlord was willing to let us have his two horses, but all efforts to get hold of a conveyance were of no avail, because in this country it is not customary to travel otherwise than on horseback. Finally our landlord was



so kind as to have the bed of a large winter sleigh fastened on the wheels of a wagon and so to form a vehicle in which it was possible to travel after a fashion. It was a great pleasure to us that a young Swiss, Mr. Zehender, of a Bernese family, who had served in a Dutch Swiss regiment, now re-organized, and who was staying in this vicinity for pleasure, joined our party to Columbus and thereby lightened our expenses. We not only had many very interesting conversations with him—he was well acquainted in Montmirail, where two of his sisters were educated—but our suppers were improved by his hunting along the road, because he did not miss any of the edible small game, such as squirrels, snipes, or rabbits, which we happened on to. It should be mentioned that in Madison and vicinity several Swiss families have settled, who were all very friendly towards us.

About ten o'clock in the morning we began our journey in a northerly direction in very hot weather. On an exceedingly narrow, steep road, made almost impassable by deep ruts, we wound our way slowly up the hills which everywhere skirt the Ohio more or less closely. Halfway up, in order to get past, we had to lend a helping hand to a wagon drawn by six oxen which had got stuck. The crest of the hills consists of vertical rocky walls. It is remarkable that in the whole Mississippi Valley all stratifications without exception are perfectly horizontal and nowhere have an inclined position, as in our country. When one reaches the top, the country expands into a broad plain, with only here and there deep valleys of creeks and rivers, and one soon begins to admire the immense height and thickness of the trees. To be sure the woods are quite vast everywhere, but great was our astonishment at the quantity of land already in a high state of cultivation and at the frequency of the plantations. We had a pretty good road for the first eight or twelve miles, as far as to a private house, where quite a refreshing dinner was served to us. From there on it became exceedingly difficult. For long distances it passes through wet, swampy, though not in-

fertile, beech woods, over an almost continuous so-called corduroy bridge, which was, moreover, in a very ruinous condition, so that one was almost jolted to pieces. On this account, my companions traveled much on foot. Yet everywhere it proved possible to get through all right, and we reached our first lodging-place, Vernon, the capital of Jennings County, in good time. There had been a muster there that day, and sad scenes of drunkenness could be observed everywhere; yet we were excellently entertained, in part, with our own game, and had good lodgings.

We started rather early on June 1st to continue our journey of about twenty-five miles, which from all sides we heard described in such a manner that we were well prepared to experience something unusual. And that was really the case. The almost endless corduroy road was constantly interrupted by immense holes into which our wagon many times jolted down a foot and a half from the hard road, so that the horses sank to their bellies in mud: often they were in such a condition that it was impossible to get through at all. We then turned unhesitatingly into the most dense wood with tangled underbrush and after a long, roundabout way, during which the skill of our driver in winding his way between big, dense trees and fallen tree trunks could not be admired too much, we came back to the road scarcely one hundred paces from where we had entered it. The same thing happened when fallen trees, often four or five feet in diameter, lay clear across the road. Needless to say, under such circumstances we progressed very slowly. Sometimes we came to splendidly cultivated spaces, which, to be sure, were only half cleared of their trees, as it is not over fifteen years since the whole tract was purchased from the Indians.<sup>15</sup> Whoever has not seen it before must marvel at the rich grain fields which seem to be growing up in the midst of the woods, while great dead trees, girded and burned but still standing, are so numerous in

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<sup>15</sup>This was in the "New Purchase" secured by treaty with the Indians at St. Mary's in October, 1818.

them that anywhere else they would form a well-forested tract. In these parts, all this work of clearing is particularly difficult, because of the beeches and sugar-maple trees, which, together with the tulip trees (*Liriodendron*) [*Liriodendron tulipifera*], by far the largest of all, are the most numerous.<sup>16</sup> We often saw in one place many tulip trees with trunks straight as an arrow, eighty or more feet in height and five or six feet in diameter. They are exceedingly hard to kill and usually keep putting forth leaves, though smaller ones, for two years.

More than once we had to ford little rivers of considerable size, all of them branches of White River, which flows into the Wabash at the western edge of the state. Although none of them was difficult to cross at the time, it was easy to imagine the difficulties which any heavy or long continued rain produces, for all of them, as is true of the western streams generally, rise extraordinarily in incredibly short time, so that often creeks which seem quite insignificant suddenly detain one for days.

We had our breakfast in a building which externally was quite an ordinary cabin, built and roofed with logs. Inside, however, everything was very respectable and even elegant, as this building is the new town of Solon,<sup>17</sup> the printed advertisements for which we had come across everywhere re-

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<sup>16</sup>The bloom of the tulip or yellow poplar tree, *Liriodendron tulipifera*, is the state flower of Indiana.

<sup>17</sup>According to the *Indiana Gazeteer* (2nd ed. 1833), Solon, in Jennings County, was laid out by Solon Robinson thirteen miles northwest of Vernon on the state road to Columbus. Its founder moved there in 1830 and abandoned it in 1834. It must not be confused with the present Solon in Clark County.

Solon Robinson was the first settler, a "squatter," in Lake County and one of the most interesting citizens ever resident in Indiana. He was a pioneer in many things, but chiefly in methods of agriculture and in the dissemination of agricultural information. He became editor of the agricultural department of the *New York Tribune* in 1850, and retained this position till his death, thus being closely associated with Horace Greeley and Charles A. Dana. He was born near Tolland, Connecticut, October 21, 1803, and died at Jacksonville, Florida, November 3, 1880. See typed copy of address delivered by A. F. Knotts before Old Settlers and Historical Society of Lake County at Crown Point, August 27, 1921, Indiana State Library.

cently. We would have noted with pleasure the valuable library of the owner, if the atheist newspapers of Miss Frances Wright,<sup>18</sup> lying about in profusion, and public effusions against clergy, temperance society, etc., had not shown how, even here, the lamentable reaction against the exaggerations of the times is producing its injurious effects and most sadly increasing the confusion of mind generated by religious contentiousness.

From there on, the badness of the road came to a climax, and we approached Brush Creek, where the collapse of the bridge had been the main cause of the non-arrival of the stage coach. Wagon-drivers whom we met gave terrifying accounts of the difficult and roundabout route which was the only possible way to get through the bottomless swamp which encompasses it, but when we came up, a large body of men who were reconstructing the bridge, called to us from afar that, if we would wait a short quarter of an hour, we might be the first to cross the new bridge. We were glad to do so and watched with amazement the skill with which these people were able to handle their only tool, the axe. In an incredibly short time, the tree trunk which was still wanting to complete the flooring of the bridge was cut down, squared most neatly and exactly, and fitted into the opening, so that we could cross the dangerous place with gratitude and without any other trouble than to accept a draught of whisky from the people amidst their loud hurrahs. But for still another mile or more the road was as bad as it could possibly be; then it became, on the whole, quite good. After riding through the most fertile plantations with good brick houses, before five o'clock we reached Columbus, the capital of Bartholomew

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<sup>18</sup>Frances or Fanny Wright (Mrs. Frances d'Arusmont), 1795-1852, was an early radical and advocate of women's rights. She resided for some years at New Harmony, where in 1828 she was an editor of *The New Harmony and Nashoba Gazette*, or *Free Enquirer*, and joined in transferring the paper to New York and continuing it under the name of the *Free Enquirer*. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, Stephen, Leslie, (ed.), under Arusmont; also Waterman, William Randall, *Frances Wright (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, vol. CXV, No. 1, New York, 1924).

County, named for a general of the militia who distinguished himself in the Indian war.<sup>19</sup>

By mistake we did not take up our quarters at the inn indicated to me by Brother Martin Hauser, so that I had to go on to Mr. Jones, and found there that everything had been attended to all right. He was willing to take us early in the morning to Jacob Hauser, a brother of Martin, well known to me in Salem, who, however, had joined the Baptists. It was quite evident that my arrival here, heralded long before, created quite a sensation and perhaps had also given rise to many absurd rumors, for the settling of the Moravians is causing quite a stir here. Although a crowd of people gathered around me immediately, on this account, all were exceedingly polite and obliging.

On June 2nd, after breakfast Mr. Jones called for us with his stage coach and took us the four miles to our friend, Jacob Hauser, whom we found in the woods not far from his fine brick house. His plantation is located on a wide, exceedingly fertile plain, called Haw Patch, on the Flatrock River, which even here is navigable in spring. At Columbus it flows into the Driftwood, which is about half the size of our Lehigh and carries considerable traffic. This Haw Patch, which has been thickly settled for little more than seven years, looks already like an older settlement and contains extensive plantations. Jacob could not come home until noon, but we were very kindly received by his wife, a native of these parts. After dinner he got ready to take us in his one-horse conveyance the twelve or fourteen miles beyond to his brother. Many interesting exchanges with Jacob along the way gave me an insight into the prevailing religious confusion, which has come to a climax through the many contending parties and their leaders who are quite uneducated people.

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<sup>19</sup>General Joseph Bartholomew. See Pence, George, "General Bartholomew," *Indiana Biographical Pamphlets*, vol. III, no. 59 (Columbus, Ind., 1894); also *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. XIV, pp. 287-303.



The first six miles we drove along a wretched road<sup>20</sup> to Indianapolis, the capital of the state, situated on the west branch of White River, near the place where Brethren Kluge and Luckenbach formerly attended to the Indian mission.<sup>21</sup> Suddenly, however, our experienced guide turned aside right into the dense woods, where only a very indistinct, and frequently wellnigh vanishing footpath indicated the direction. We now proceeded very slowly indeed through such deep mud—sometimes a morass—that I soon had to give up the attempt to walk, just as Brethren Frueauf and Hauser had done. The dense underbrush, which fortunately consisted only of easily breaking laurels (*Laurus Benzoin*) [*Benzoin aestivale*] and pawpaws (*Porcelia triloba*) [*Asimina triloba*], served as a substratum and support for our one-horse conveyance, since we were driving over it incessantly. The small creeks often had difficult banks and when we finally came to Tough Creek, the crossing was really very hard. However, we succeeded and thus reached the settlement of our brethren and sisters, though we had totally lost our way. As a matter of fact, however, there isn't any road because nobody travels there by a conveyance.

#### [THE MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT]

Philipp Essig<sup>22</sup> met us in the guise of a charcoal burner, since he was just burning a kiln; he gave good advice as to how we might wind our way to Martin Hauser's. So we passed by several of their newly started plantations—some have been

<sup>20</sup>This was not the state road to Indianapolis, however. Von Schweinitz left this road two miles north of Columbus on the "Haw Patch" road. At that time, May, 1831, there were but three official roads located in Haw Creek Township. The route from Jacob Hauser's place to Martin Hauser's was through the "slashes," a swampy wilderness which had no roads for a number of years.

<sup>21</sup>A Moravian mission among the Delaware Indians on White River was established in 1801 by John Peter Kluge and Abraham Luckenbach who were sent from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, for that purpose. The mission was abandoned in 1806, however, owing to the increasing difficulty in the relations between the Indians and the whites. Its location on the north bluffs of White River near what is now Anderson is marked by a bronze tablet, placed there in 1913 by the D. A. R.

<sup>22</sup>The surname, Essig, was later Americanized to Essex.



begun only this spring. As may be easily understood, they were scarcely observable, save for the fences and deadened trees, in the woods, which surpass everything seen heretofore in height, density, and the girth of their varied trees. So we lost our bearings again several times until we met Ludwig Ried, an old acquaintance in Salem,<sup>23</sup> and were put on the right way. Thus, just as it was getting dark, we arrived at Martin Hauser's west fence, which we laid down,<sup>24</sup> and then sought our own way to his house through his corn, which was just coming up.

The great joy of seeing each other was shared by all members of the household, although we really saw each other only in the morning, since, during our entire stay, we were without any light in the evening, except at supper, unless it was cool enough to have a flickering fire in the fireplace. Besides the five children of Brother and Sister Hauser, there lodged with them three unmarried Chittys, brothers of Sister Hauser, some of whom had recently arrived from Salem. There also lodged with them Brother John Proske, formerly employed with the Indian mission, who had also bought land here and at the same time leased a lot in the little town of Goshen<sup>25</sup> which is being laid out around the schoolhouse, where he is building a house to start his shoemaker's trade. Brother Hauser's rather spacious log house is nice and well built, and has a good roof, but consists of only one room and the loft, which is reached by a ladder. In the room, behind a screen made of wagon [covers?] and sheets, we found our beds already prepared and space for our things, and at the back a window. There was another window in the room, opposite the door. A smaller log house or cabin close by, which however is still entirely open—that is, not filled in between the logs—forms the kitchen and dining room, where

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<sup>23</sup>Salem, North Carolina, where von Schweinitz had formerly preached, and whence most of the Moravians in this settlement had come.

<sup>24</sup>The primitive rail fence, built zigzag fashion of split rails, readily lent itself to being torn down and rebuilt.

<sup>25</sup>Soon changed to Hope. See Introduction.

we always betook ourselves with our chairs at meal times. Yet its chimney is still lacking and an open fire is kept in the house on some large flagstones. Most things, however, are cooked outside in the yard, if it is not raining.

Thus grateful and very happy, we moved into these, our present quarters, to stay there until after June 17th, which day the brethren and sisters here have chosen for their coming congregation festival, for this is the date when, in the name of God, they assembled last year, for the first time, in the schoolhouse, just built and still without a roof. It was apparent that any shortening of this time would be very painful to them. After our first happy supper, we enjoyed for a while the most interesting and remarkable night view from the house, in the midst of the half-cleared ten acres, out into the high impenetrable woods surrounding it. The woods were illuminated by twenty-five or thirty burning log-heaps, built of cut timber from four or five acres of lowland, which Brother Hauser had planted with corn this spring. The logs continued to burn incessantly the first week. After we had enjoyed the view, we lay down to rest and I most earnestly commended myself and my errands here to the Lord in a simple prayer for his support. It pained us this first evening to notice the serious eye trouble with which Brother Hauser is afflicted and which we greatly hope may not deprive him of one of his eyes.

It may now be fitting, first of all, to give an idea of the general situation. As is well known, all land in the new states, and particularly in Indiana, is divided by the United States into equal townships of thirty-six square miles. Each of these square miles, of which there are six in each direction, is a "section" composed of 640 acres. Each section is subdivided once more into eight equal, half-quarter sections, that is, eighty acre lots. These divisions, however, are not only on paper, but have been actually surveyed and marked on the corner trees with their proper numbers. In each township, the section which is marked number 16 is the common property of all inhabitants of the township and reserved exclusively for the

support of their primary schools. The remainder of the land is open to anybody. After an inspection of the quality and location of the land, fresh water springs, and so forth, everybody selects whatever pleases him, usually one or several half-quarter sections, from that which is still unoccupied. As soon as he has paid down cash, which without variation amounts to \$100 for eighty acres, in the land office at Indianapolis, the piece selected is his absolute property and for the first five years is free from taxation.

The township where most of the brethren and sisters who have moved here from North Carolina have settled, and where a considerable number still seem to wish to follow, is called Haw Creek Township<sup>26</sup> from the two creeks uniting in it, which flow into the Driftwood Fork at Columbus, and is located in the northeast corner of Bartholomew County. It is bordered by Shelby County on the north and by Decatur County on the east; on the south, it is adjoined by Clifty Township, and on the west, by Flatrock, both of which are in Bartholomew County. Some of the brethren and sisters are living in Flatrock.

Several years ago, following the example of other Carolinian neighbors who thought themselves unable to live in the comparatively unfertile state of North Carolina, Brother Martin Hauser turned toward the state of Indiana and naturally cast his eye by preference on the part where his brother, Jacob, together with other Carolinians, had been settled for more than seven years. Since that time he has cherished the desire to arrange his settlement in such a manner that those North Carolinian emigrants, who, like him, were quite anxious to retain their connection with the Moravian Church, might settle in the same vicinity, and form a congregation. On the occasion of a visit to Pennsylvania four years ago, hope was extended to him that a helping hand might be given by the purchase of a suitably located piece of land which some time

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<sup>26</sup>Haw Creek Township was formed by the Board of Commissioners on March 2, 1829, from the east end of Flatrock Township.

might serve as an endowment for the support of a laborer and the establishment of a congregation. On this land a church and schoolhouse might stand, and around them, perhaps, also a little town. When, therefore, over two years ago, he actually moved to Indiana with his family, he selected for himself here in Haw Creek Township a very suitable location in a most extraordinarily wooded region, to be sure, but exceedingly fertile; rather rolling, healthful, and abundantly supplied with the best spring water: a place where an unusually desirable opportunity for such a settlement presented itself. On his representation it was first decided to purchase for the above purpose 160 acres, or two half-quarter sections, along the south side of his three lots (a tract of 240 acres) to which now, during my presence, it was deemed proper to add another eighty acres to prevent the intrusion of a stranger. Scarcely had this become known when the emigration from Carolina, and particularly from the country congregations, took this direction and already a considerable number of the half-quarter sections located in the neighborhood have been purchased by brethren and sisters who are gathering here in ever larger numbers.

On the piece they called Goshen, which I purchased,<sup>27</sup> they have now jointly cleared five acres around the schoolhouse, erected a year ago, in such manner as clearing can be done in the beginning, and they have provided them with a good fence. On this five-acre lot, also, Brother Hauser has commenced to build a house for Brother John Leinbach who wants to exercise his trade as a cooper there, and Brother Proske is building next to him, but clearing an additional separate acre. A couple of other brethren who have moved here, Daniel Ziegler<sup>28</sup> and Ludwig Ried, have bought a couple of older

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<sup>27</sup>Von Schweinitz advanced the money necessary to purchase land for church purposes at a time when the future existence of the Goshen (Hope) settlement was uncertain and when Hauser and his fellow-settlers were enduring great hardships. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, p. 358.

<sup>28</sup>Ziegler was one of the five men who made an agreement on January 2, 1830 that they and their families would form the nucleus of a con-

plantations which were commenced before Brother Hauser's arrival, and therefore have considerable land under cultivation. On the others, cultivation was begun in the woods only two years ago and on several, only this year. It may therefore be imagined how wild and rough it still looks about them and that their houses serve only for the most urgent, present necessities. Few have yet had the gaps between the logs stopped up and plastered: I even noticed a twig, with leaves still green, on one of the logs of Philipp Essig's house. But one must marvel at how much their industry has accomplished, especially if one gets a clear idea of the work required. Without mutual help, it would be entirely impossible to get on, particularly with the toilsome log rolling, or with the hauling of felled trees into a pile in order to burn them. For, in spite of the fact that half of them are left standing, trees cover the whole expanse on account of their incredible size and height.

The easily split walnut and cherry wood greatly facilitates their fence making. Chestnuts are not often found, nor are any coniferous trees anywhere in the state except in the north toward Lake Michigan. The beeches and sugar-maples are the most numerous, and the poplars (*Liriodendron*) are the biggest and tallest trees. At Brother Dan. Ziegler's house the road passes between two poplar stumps which are seven feet in diameter each—the felled trunk of one forms the fence for seventy or eighty feet and is still over four feet thick at the smaller end. Besides these there are found almost as huge walnut trees (*Juglans nigra* and *cinerea*), shell barks (*Juglans alba*) [*Carya ovata*], many species of ash, mulberries, honey-locusts (*Gladitsia*) [*Gladitsia triancanthos*] with and without thorns, coffee-trees, (*Gymnocladus*) [*Gymnocladus dioica*], elms, immense sycamores (*Platanus*) [*Plantanus occidentalis*] and many other trees, but extremely few oaks. In the hollow of one of these sycamores, which was still growing,

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gregation at Goshen, later Hope. The others were Martin Hauser, John Essex, Samuel Rominger and Joseph Spaugh. *Ibid.*, p. 358.



five of us adults assembled and as many again would easily have had room. The smaller growth and underbrush is exceedingly varied. All the woods are alike in immense height, density, and absolute straightness of the trees.

The ground is a jet-black, rich soil, about four feet deep. Stone—and that only a soft limestone which yields excellent lime—is found only at the creeks and on the hillsides. In spite of the most imperfect ploughing, the only kind which the roots filling the ground render possible during the first years, Martin has a splendid wheat field, to say nothing of Dan Ziegler's and Ried's. As soon as the ground is got into proper shape, an acre yields one hundred bushels of corn. Everywhere there can be observed the richest growth of grass, timothy (*Phleum pratense*) and here and there, clover. The finest apple and peach trees are growing luxuriantly upon the older plantations.

A good flowing spring is found on almost every eighty-acre lot, although none so glorious as Martin's, which is one of the finest I ever saw and which has delicious water. But very good water may be had anywhere without much trouble by digging a well. The two Haw Creeks are indeed not large streams, yet they drive a sawmill. This is a mile from Goshen; and besides the mills on the Flatrock are near at hand. Every rain, however, causes them to rise in an unconceivable manner. In wet weather the mud on the rich, black ground is indescribable, especially where on a level surface, such as near the schoolhouse, the water cannot flow off.

Columbus, which is not over ten or twelve miles distant, forms a most desirable market because there is much buying there for exportation down the Mississippi.<sup>29</sup> All products of the country can be disposed of there, hogs most advantageously of all, wherefore all efforts are directed toward breeding them.

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<sup>29</sup>Columbus is actually fourteen miles from Hope. At that time and until the advent of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, it was a shipping point of considerable importance in the flatboat trade with Arkansas and New Orleans. Its location on the Driftwood Fork of White River afforded the use of the spring freshets in this trade.



On the other hand, the inhabitants are obliged to go to Columbus, also, for all their necessities, even for the smallest nail.~ Nothing, therefore, would be more desirable for the settlement than the establishment of a little store or trading post in Goshen which would save them this trouble. Nor is there any doubt that an energetic young man who would be willing to put up with the privations inseparably connected with beginning in such a wilderness, would have good prospects for the future. This would particularly be the case with a blacksmith. Nothing would be more welcome to the brethren and their neighbors here than to see Goshen becoming a little town with the most necessary artisans at hand; this has been Brother Martin's design. For the present, however, it is not expected that much increase will come from other than Carolinian congregations, who can more easily reconcile themselves to life in the woods.

Brother Martin cannot attain his great desire to arrange the leases in Goshen in such manner that, as in community settlements, no stranger can intrude or maintain himself as long as there are lacking funds from which to buy up the improvements in such cases. In view of the real difficulties involved, it seems to me advisable also to aim at this. After much deliberation the lease granted to Brother Proske was fixed at five years, after which term the proprietor is at liberty to renew it, change it, or, if no agreement is reached, he reserves for himself the right of purchasing the improvements on the lot, without being compelled to do so. Apart from such leases of house lots, the present custom of the country offers only one way for the use of land in the interest of the community, namely, gradually to grant parts of it on improving leases, that is, to let them to a farmer for seven years for his individual use, on condition that a certain number of acres are cultivated and fenced in. Its value increases thereby and after this period it may be decided what further use is to be made of it. For the present there cannot possibly arise any revenue from it. They all do this; as, for example,

Martin Hauser, who possesses more land than he and his family can use for the present. Several of the brethren who have settled here are such tenants and hope to earn so much beyond their living expenses in those years, that they can then buy land for themselves.

The sixteenth or school section of each township is treated in the same way, only usually they aim to sell the land after one or more leases according to circumstances, when it has risen considerably in value through cultivation, and with the proceeds to establish a fund, the interest from which is to support the primary school system. The school land may be sold as soon as a majority of the voters of the township decides to do so. This condition had created the bitter feeling here in Haw Creek, which during our stay had such a sad outcome, and brought the murder related below into connection with the affairs of the brethren.

A certain man by the name of Jones, a very coarse and bad character, is, with several others, a tenant on the school land and his lease has still five years to run.<sup>30</sup> This man devised a plan this spring to persuade the inhabitants to put the school land upon the market at once; those concerned hoped to be able to buy the plantations they had started on it for a trifle. Since possession could only be obtained after five years, no purchasers would be found. Brother Martin Hauser and Daniel Ziegler opposed this scheme because it was manifestly to the very great disadvantage of the township. One of the magistrates, Mr. Ray, sided with them and of course all the brethren here followed his example. Jones then sought to arouse enmity against all Moravians in order to accomplish his purpose. Among other things he circulated the rumor that

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<sup>30</sup>John Jones had a better reputation among his associates and many others than von Schweinitz' references would indicate. He had settled near the present site of Hope in 1824 and, with his brother, for several years followed a business of driving horses to North Carolina. He had six children and was generally regarded as taking excellent care of them. His descendants have always been highly regarded in the community. Among those who knew him, his killing of Squire Ray was attributed to intoxication and a violent altercation. See note, p. 253.

I was expected with \$60,000 with which to buy whole counties and to put the control of the state into the hands of the Moravians, insinuating also that these men then intended to surrender the country to the King of England. Largely through the sensible representations of Squire Ray, however, all of this was in vain, and the selfish design of Jones and his gang was frustrated. Our brethren in this matter wisely avoided all occasions of quarrels and brawls, which are the usual way of venting bad feelings in this country. So this rowdy developed a devilish malignity especially against Squire Ray, although he also uttered threats at Martin and Dan. Ziegler. The unfortunate result will be detailed in due time.

From all that has been said about the situation here, it must be clear that conditions are very inviting and advantageous indeed for the settlement of farmers, particularly from Carolina, where settlers are accustomed to similar conditions but with incomparably worse prospects; and that furthermore certain kinds of indispensable artisans who can reconcile themselves to such life in the wilderness have good prospects. It would be quite a different thing, however, for young men from our Pennsylvania communities, and probably very few could easily satisfy themselves with conditions here, particularly on account of their wives.

After this survey I return to our stay here. On Friday, the 3rd, we had a disagreeable rainy day which did not allow us to go out until evening. After crossing, on a sixty-foot log, the little Haw Creek, which flows close by the house, we made our first visit with Martin to Goshen, or rather to the schoolhouse, about half a mile from Hauser's. Only with difficulty was it possible to get there by the footpath through the deep mud. On the flat ridges, especially, the water stands very long after a rain. The schoolhouse is a respectable log house with a good shingle roof, but still without windows, for it is quite open everywhere; that is, the three or four inch interstices between the logs have not yet been chinked up and daubed.

As usual it has foundation pillars of large pieces of soft limestone, but as yet only under the corners.

Several of the brethren living near paid us visits this day and the next. Our further proceedings were soon agreed upon with Brother Martin Hauser. The time of my arrival being uncertain, and in view of the great desire of those living both near and far to hear a Moravian preacher, it had been announced that Sunday, June 12th, there would be preaching at the schoolhouse. However, this need not prevent my preaching also on the previous Sunday, the 5th, when in addition to members the nearer neighbors were expected to come. The weather being fine, they did indeed attend in large numbers.

As is well known, Brother Martin Hauser was given a written commission from Salem to take care of the brethren gathering here as an adviser; and he also at times holds prayer meetings and gives short exhortations. With others, especially with dear young Brother John Essig, he first established a Sunday school at the schoolhouse in co-operation with the Sunday school Union. The children of the whole neighborhood and of all denominations attend this in large numbers, and on this day, that is the 5th, they were present, soon after nine o'clock, together with most of the brethren and sisters.

In the open building which, as remarked above, could still do quite well without windows, there is a chair, a little table, and instead of benches, which were not yet done, boards were laid upon blocks. We opened the meeting with the German verse: "So weit hast du uns bracht, Lamm sei gepriesen,"<sup>31</sup> which Brother Martin Hauser intoned with great warmth of heart. (It is customary to sing a German hymn, but all other proceedings are in the English language.) Then I made a short address to the brothers and sisters, conveying the cordial sympathy and greetings of the Provincial Conference, and imploring the Savior's gracious acceptance of our undertakings. Thereupon Brother Martin spoke briefly and cordially to the

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<sup>31</sup>"So far hast thou brought us, Praised be the Lamb."

numerous Sunday school scholars, and then knelt in prayer. After this we listened with the greatest pleasure to the children's reading, in which many have really attained great proficiency, and heard them recite with great spontaneity the portions of Scripture assigned to them the last time, together with as many verses of hymns as they wished to learn.

The impression which we received of the untold usefulness of these Sunday schools, for which great efforts are rightly being made in these otherwise neglected parts, was very favorable. The Sunday School Union agency provides that everywhere the necessary books can be had at lowest possible price, and though in part the forms of catechetical instruction it sends out are very imperfect, yet the great good they are doing cannot be denied. The whole Sunday school system is, in fact, a modification of the instruction of children in the Lutheran Church, adapted to the country and its needs, with the important improvement that the personal activity of the members of the congregation who serve as teachers makes an advantageous impression and thus contributes not a little to arouse the interest of the adults. To be sure, the Sunday schools do not make other schools unnecessary, and the brethren wish very much that an opportunity for the further instruction of their children may soon be given them.

I omitted to say that the roll of scholars and teachers is always called at the beginning and everyone present responds to his name. At the end I made a brief address to the children, calling attention to their good fortune in having such an opportunity to learn the word of salvation and to appropriate it for their own use.

The meeting now broke up for a short while, but in the meantime a fairly large crowd of people had assembled, so I soon proceeded to the sermon in the manner customary among the brethren, with the singing of a hymn and opening prayer. The house was completely filled. Among those present were Squire Ray and his future murderer, who, however, as a notorious scoffer at religion, soon went out with a mate



and was said to have made coarse jokes about the meeting in front of the house. The crowd was so great, indeed, that soon after the beginning of the sermon proper, the principal corner stone burst in two pieces from the weight of the people, with a report like a cannon shot, and frightened me not a little; but no further damage was done. I preached on the Epistle of the day: "God is love," but at the beginning I felt that I did not succeed in finding the right language that all could understand. Yet all seemed quite pleased and rejoiced.

Monday and Tuesday were two very hot days, but we used them to visit all our brethren and sisters in their homes and to acquaint ourselves with them and their young families, mostly very large. The first day we proceeded in a westerly and the second, in an easterly direction. All the older persons of the congregation were personally well known to me from Salem days, as well as other neighbors whom we visited, who belong to the Baptists or Lutherans—the latter, however, have no congregation. Our Monday walking was very fatiguing for me on account of the frequent fence climbing, but no house can be approached without it. Nevertheless we walked seven miles in all, for there is at least half a mile of woods between every neighbor. Everywhere we were received with the greatest love and joy, and refreshments were offered to us. Everywhere we had occasion to admire their industry and frugality. The most urgent necessities of life, but only these, are provided everywhere. A mother with three little children, the oldest of whom is four years old, who stays in her cabin in the woods all alone, while her husband is engaged in the heavy tasks of clearing up the forest, is truly admirable in her activity in running her household, simple as it is. She can quickly get ready a cup of coffee—with exquisite maple sugar, the only kind which is seen here—together with corn-bread and fried ham or venison. On Tuesday we did not have to walk quite so far, since some of the plantations toward the east, such as Brother Clayton's and Alexander Copeland's, who have moved here from the Cherokee country only this spring,



are situated somewhat more closely together. The cordiality and joy of the brethren and sisters were exceedingly gratifying, and even as early as this visit, several who had a desire to partake in the Lord's Supper announced for the festival of the 17th, reported for confirmation, as they had all previously said they would to Brother Martin. Henry Holders also begged very hard for permission to join the congregation. She was formerly a communicant sister in Carolina, but had forfeited her privilege.

Most of the men were still making the utmost efforts to get their most recently cleared pieces [of land] into shape, so that they could plant corn on them, in spite of the late season. Even Brother Martin did not get this done till four days before our departure, and yet on the morning we left we noticed that it had already come up beautifully. As soon as it does, another trouble commences, for the numerous squirrels pull up whole rows and nibble off the seeds. Thus it becomes necessary to keep shooting all day long around the fields. Besides this, on Monday night, all the young men were summoned for a wolf hunt, because packs of wolves were around howling during the nights. They failed, however, in their object, which had been to discover the lair where they kept their young.

Thursday, the 9th, all the brethren were busy about the schoolhouse the whole day, sawing, making the two necessary windows, filling the cracks between the logs with stones, and plastering them up with lime-mortar from without and within. They achieved this with the exception of the north side, where the Liturgus<sup>32</sup> sits, which must still remain open for the present.

From time to time we received calls from brethren and sisters and other neighbors. Among others, the repeatedly-mentioned Squire Ray spent the greatest part of an afternoon with us in a very friendly way. He introduced all possible topics of conversation, particularly religious questions, such as

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<sup>32</sup>The minister.

occupy the minds of the good people, about immersion in baptism, about reprobation, and sophistical interpretations of some verses of the Bible in which they exercise their cleverness in debating. He was especially troubled about the question of the day of the week on which the Savior had been crucified, and was confused by the universal custom of calling Sunday the Sabbath; he even accused the Jews of having moved their Sabbath back one day out of spite toward the Christians. The information I tried to give him on everything seemed quite satisfactory to him and he took leave with the urgent request that we should call on him at his house, a mile and a half distant, after his return from Columbus where he was about to go on business in company with others. He took a letter for Brother Eugene Frueauf to the post-office. It will give some idea of the mode of life of such people, when I mention that this man told us he had commenced nine new places in the woods during the last twelve years, which he had always sold again at once to others at a profit. In the same way he had recently disposed of his present place, on which he had constructed a sort of sawmill, to Brother Charles Spach, receiving \$600 for it, and he was now contemplating settling in the prairies on the Wabash.

In spite of all these conversations and as many little botanical excursions as circumstances permitted and many very pleasant and gratifying talks with Brother Hauser, time often passed slowly, for there was no chance to write and to read. From time to time the weather also shut us up in the house and the mud was almost impassable afterwards for at least a day.

Especially disagreeable was a violent rain on Saturday, the 11th, because word had been sent to all the brethren to assemble about four o'clock in the afternoon in the school-house for a thorough discussion of the affairs of the congregation. Fortunately the rain ceased after dinner and we experienced the pleasure of having all appear on time except one who could not get away from home. This resulted in a

regular church council, the first one, which on account of the truly brotherly and loving spirit that seemed to animate all, gave me the keenest pleasure in every respect. I explained to them, as well as I could, what the chief thing with a Moravian congregation was, admonished them to be mindful of the experience of our little church over one hundred years ago on August 13th, and to set aside all troublesome controversies. However, I can attest with pleasure that they show no inclination at all to enter into such controversies, although much of the religious life and interest around them seem principally to consist in this. I called their attention to the character they must exhibit in word and conduct as successors of Christ, in order to approve themselves in their surroundings as a congregation belonging to Him, and gave them the assurance that everything which our limited resources permitted would be done for them by the Provincial Helpers' Conference, which was taking the most gratifying interest in this rising little congregation.

It is plain enough to them that in view of their still small number and the condition in which nearly all of them will be for the next few years, it is not yet possible for them to get a pastor of their own. Therefore, they ask all the more that, at least once a year, preferably at this season, a brother who can administer the holy sacraments may visit them, for instance, from Gnadenhutten, which might be done without great cost. They hope that if they should find an able brother who would be willing to earn a considerable part of his living by teaching school and be willing to put up with the privations of pioneer life, it need not be so very long until they could be provided with one of their own. In the meantime they are well satisfied with the service of Brother Hauser, who seems to possess their confidence and affection in a high degree. At his suggestion, they all agreed to the proposition to choose two brethren to help him—the election to be held annually at the festival—who for the present with him should form a committee and with whom he

should first take counsel about everything to be undertaken, principally about the reception of new members in the little band. There is good prospect of additions among several neighbors from Carolina, and a number of new brethren and sisters expected from Carolina this fall, part of whom have already purchased land. I promised them, as a guide for their future rules, a copy of those of New York and Philadelphia, and they all gave their consent to the rules, well known to them from the Carolinian congregations. In conclusion a number of agreements were made as to how the common obligations and labors could most appropriately be regulated. The candor, frankness, and interest with which every one present took part in these deliberations could not have been more gratifying. I was especially pleased with some sensible young, unmarried people, particularly Brother William Chitty, Martin Hauser's brother-in-law. Feeling exceedingly happy, we betook ourselves home in the evening.

On the following day a large crowd was expected to come to the sermon, even from Columbus, since curiosity had become very great and, among other follies, the rumor had spread that I had all the instrumental music of the Moravians with me which would perform on that occasion. Yet it was decreed otherwise. For during the night there came a fearful rain, which turned toward daybreak into an unusually violent thunderstorm, causing the creeks to rise extraordinarily and covering everything with water and mud—and not only that, but soon after four o'clock we were called out of our sleep by messengers arriving before our house and were horrified by the news that last night, on the ride homeward from Columbus, in the midst of an apparently friendly conversation, Squire Ray had suddenly been stabbed through the heart by the Jones mentioned above, who thus sought to satisfy his revenge. The Squire dropped dead from his horse in the presence of other persons. This was later confirmed

and, as may easily be understood, caused no little disturbance and excitement in the whole region.<sup>33</sup>

The sermon had first been announced, as usual, for noon, but I had little hope that it would come to pass at all, as it continued to rain fearfully until nine o'clock. Since it cleared up later on, however, and became quite fair, we betook ourselves through the unfathomable wetness and crossed the long log, not without anxiety on account of the terribly swollen Haw Creek. In due time we reached the schoolhouse, where there was gathered quite a goodly number of men from the neighborhood, although of course no women came. Those living further away, however, were prevented from coming by the weather and the murder. There was of course no Sunday school. Though their minds were pretty much occupied with the occurrence of the night, they listened with encouraging attention and devotion to my sermon on "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid," etc., a discourse which seemed to engage their interest in an unusual manner. So Brother Hauser and other brethren besought me to preach again on the same text when, according to my prom-

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<sup>33</sup>The altercation in which Ray was stabbed to his death with a clasp knife by Jones occurred on June 11, 1831, about one mile north of Columbus (now near Nineteenth Street). The murderer immediately escaped and Ray's friends made prompt pursuit, following him to Chesterfield in Madison County. His capture was easily effected. Jones was brought to the Columbus jail and indicted for murder by the Grand Jury at the September term, 1831. The jury rendered a verdict of guilty, and the prisoner was sentenced to be executed on October 31, 1831. The defense moved for a new trial on an appeal to the Supreme Court where the case was reversed. At his second trial during the March term, 1832, Jones again received a verdict of guilty, and the execution was fixed for April 20, 1832. A respite was granted by the Supreme Court to give it time to pass on certain exceptions, and the defendant was remanded for the third trial. In the meantime the sheriff, John F. Jones, had resigned his office for the reputed reason that he did not want to attend to the execution of his namesake, and a new sheriff, John McKinney, was appointed. Considerable delay occurred before the third trial. On account of the insecurity of the jail the prisoner was removed at different times to the adjoining counties of Jennings, Monroe, and Johnson. The result of the third trial during the September term, 1833, was only a repetition of the two prior verdicts of guilty, and the court condemned him to be hanged on Friday, October 11, 1833. Pence, George, History of Bartholomew County (still in manuscript form).



ise, I had to make an address on my way back at Jacob Hauser's to the people around there.

A man who was distinguished from the remainder of the audience by his outward appearance, and who had come on horseback, had attracted my notice the entire time. He had lain down on the sisters' side, which was empty. When the closing hymn was ended, during the benediction he placed himself in the door and made himself known as the deputy sheriff. He summoned all the younger men of the audience, one by one, as they passed out, and ordered them with their guns to surround the hiding places of the murderer at once, and to pursue him. I will add here that not until the next Sunday, when I was preaching at Jacob Hauser's, was the unfortunate man brought back as a prisoner to Columbus. He had fled as far as the Indian country, but had been pursued with great zeal, especially by the brothers of the murdered man.

Monday, the 13th, we took dinner at Brother and Sister Clayton's, whence we went to Copeland's, because Sister Copeland, née Polly Gambold, had been confined during the night before Sunday. At their house, with a strong sense of the overshadowing peace of God, in the presence of several of the brethren and sisters, I baptized the new-born child into the death of Jesus.

On the afternoon of the 15th, the brethren and sisters who wished to be confirmed for the Lord's Supper assembled at Martin Hauser's: namely, Daniel Ziegler, father of a large family of dear young daughters, and his wife; Lewis Ried, whose wife does not belong to our church, and who has several grown sons; and young Brother John Essig, who is married. With heartfelt sympathy I explained briefly to them the main contents of the gospel truth and, more fully, everything relating to the partaking of the Lord's Supper. I had the pleasure of their undivided attention and the manifest emotion of their hearts during the almost two-hour exposition.

We gladly complied with the desire of the aged and estimable Friedrich Rothrock to permit him and his wife to

celebrate the festival and the Lord's Supper with us, for which purpose they had travelled here and paid us a long visit on the 16th. He is living about twelve miles from here and belonged to the Lutheran Church of Brother Schober in Carolina. Our anxiety that a concourse of other strangers might molest us at our festival fortunately proved unfounded, although we had agreed, in order to avoid suspicion and evil report, not to turn away any respectable person.

Thus approached the 17th of June which was to close and crown our stay here. Evidently all were eagerly anticipating the day on which it was of unusual importance that the Lord should grant us fine weather, since all families, even with small children, were obliged to spend the whole time in the schoolhouse and in the woods, if they wished to take due part in it. The Lord did indeed grant us such a fine day, and hearing our common prayer, He strengthened me in a conspicuous manner, after I had recovered from a passing, but alarming attack of illness that very morning. Toward half-past eight o'clock, after having nailed up doors and windows, since it was risky to leave the house empty a whole day, all members of the household set out on the way to Goshen. At the appointed hour of nine all of the little congregation, young and old, with the exception of Sister Copeland and her new-born child, had assembled.

I opened the proceedings of the day, conscious of the presence of divine grace among us, with a solemn morning service and prayer. I expressed the grateful sentiments of the little congregation at the fulfillment which the Lord had already granted beyond all hope, of their intention here in the far west to join the Brethren's Unity as a Moravian congregation. I assured them of the blessing and sympathy of all the congregations and encouraged them for the future to set all their hope on the Lord, to let their call and election become fixed by grace, and here and now to make in His name, both individually and as a congregation, the covenant of peace, which could never be taken from them. Amidst an emotional stir

of all hearts, this was then done in the solemn prayer I pronounced in the name of all, and surely with the fervent consent of their hearts. I commended most warmly to His faithful heart this little western congregation in Goshen as a newly rising star in the crown on the head of our union. There was probably no one in this little forest church who did not feel the presence of the Savior among us and who could not also testify to His recognition of Goshen as a future congregation of His.

For a quarter or half an hour we rested in the dark, glorious shade of the deep forest, surprisingly little troubled then by flies and gnats in the lovely weather of the day. Then all assembled for the second time in order to listen to a detailed discourse preparatory to the Lord's Supper, in which, at Brother Hauser's request, I repeated the main contents of my instruction to the candidates for confirmation who were sitting on a bench in front of me. After cordially addressing them, I asked each one of them the four questions, by answering which they solemnly pronounced their confession of faith and their vows of fidelity to the Saviour, to whom they wished to surrender themselves anew this day, in an exceedingly touching manner, before the congregation and, in part, before a considerable number of their own children. Then I confirmed them with a feeling which gripped my heart in an extraordinary manner, and which evidently prevailed also in the congregation, particularly in the candidates themselves. It was significant to me that this was the first confirmation I ever had an opportunity to perform.

It was now noon. We lay down again to rest in the forest shade. In a short time the young men had collected and piled up logs in the shape of an altar which soon flamed up cheerfully. This was used to cook the love feast with which the sisters occupied themselves for the present, while the brethren assembled once more for the election of the two committee members, as previously decided. Almost unanimously the two oldest brethren were elected, Daniel Ziegler and Lewis

Ried, who had just been confirmed. The former especially seems to enjoy the general regard, and he is called Uncle Daniel by everybody in the whole neighborhood.

The white cloth with which the sisters had adorned the table, for which one of them had gladly lent her handsome shawl, was removed for a moment in order that we might eat our refreshing dinner, consisting of cold roast chicken. Until the preparations for the baptism of the children were completed, we then enjoyed ourselves in the forest among the brethren and sisters, among whom there reigned an affection, a simplicity and a joy over this day which was quite animating. It gave pleasure to me and to all to unexpectedly welcome the beloved exhorter of the Methodists in this vicinity, Lewis Rominger, with Friedrich Brendel, an old acquaintance in Carolina, who had just arrived from his home, some distance away—a very earnest Baptist. They could, however, only stay until after the baptism. This now took place and five children were one after another offered by their fathers to the Lord and baptized into His death after I had spoken at some length on the text, “Suffer the little children to come unto me,” etc., because, in view of the many contentions about infant baptism, it seemed needful to set forth distinctly the foundation of our belief and practice.

There followed another short interval until the love feast was entirely ready. With truly blissful sentiments, I walked meanwhile up and down in the shade as far as the dense underbrush permitted, and feasted my eyes upon the most interesting sight of the activity and goodness of the souls assembled here. There were eighty-five souls belonging to the Moravian Church present at this love feast, and in addition, some non-members, wives of brethren. The one hundred cups, ordered in Philadelphia some time ago by Brother Martin through me, and an appropriate bell, had long before arrived safely. They created general joy. The latter was used this day for the first time; it must hang under the roof, however, until it can be securely fastened outside. The love feast, at

which we sang German and English verses and had pleasant and grateful talk with general participation among the brethren and sisters, was a love feast in deed and in truth. I could not help calling the attention of the brethren to the coincidence which also struck my dear Brother Eugene Frueauf, of their choosing the 17th of June for their congregational festival, in memory of the anniversary of the cutting of the first tree for the construction of Herrnhut, when in all my travels I had scarcely found a place anywhere that bore so striking a resemblance to the place in the woods where Christian David struck his axe in the first tree, as this very site of Goshen. The only exception was that here the trees are so much thicker and without the admixture of firs and pines. The brethren were greatly pleased at my reference to this.

Soon the preparations for the Lord's Supper were completed. The communicants sat in a square in front of me; most of the mothers among them necessarily had their youngest children on their arms. All other members of the congregations beyond the age of childhood, as well as the wives who were not members (some of whom appeared to be strongly moved and affected) were permitted to look on at the Lord's Supper. The outward arrangements were very seemly, though plain, and suitable to the circumstances. It must remain unwritten how the presence of His grace revealed itself among us at the first partaking of the flesh and blood of our Saviour in this wilderness. For me and my companion, Brother Frueauf, the impression will never fade. At the close the general emotion and the melting of our hearts into a bond of love and heartfelt union with Him, to whom we vowed ourselves anew, was quite overwhelming. Twenty persons, including ourselves, partook of the Lord's Supper. Thus the celebration of this ever memorable day closed about four o'clock.

After a short stay among the dear souls, we took leave of each one, young and old, who could not come to us again in the evening, as most of them desired to do, and went slowly home full of praise and thanks for the day the Lord had



given us as we reviewed with pleasure the scenes of our more than two-weeks' stay. Even before our last supper at our kind hosts', some brethren and sisters appeared there in order to engage in kindly conversations with us. While I walked silently up and down before the house in the moonlight, the brethren and neighbors arrived in ever greater numbers. I noticed that the young men did not mind bringing the benches from Goshen almost a half mile and across the creek. I was then asked to hold a farewell meeting and evening services with the large number present, for which Martin selected for me a very fitting and beautiful farewell hymn which I had never before heard. This, the seventh discourse of the day—some long, some short—proved quite easy for me, and with prayer, kneeling, formed a beautiful conclusion of my work here. There followed a cordial and sorrowful farewell of all the dear souls, except the members of the household, and then a quiet rest.

Often during this time, and particularly on this day, the whole work of the Lord, which is unfolding here, appeared to me like a fresh, thriving scion grafted from an old stem upon one still in the vigor of youth. This was especially true when I thought of many of these dear souls whom I knew years ago in Carolina as nearly or wholly dead branches. Truly the Lord has caused a mustard seed to germinate which may become a fine tree. May He now also present us with the right man to take care of this most promising work and to keep our dear brethren here in the quiet simplicity in which they evidently now live. May He continue to bestow grace upon Brother Martin Hauser as heretofore, that he may do what he can to keep the little congregation together and to build it up. He appears to me to be an exceedingly loyal brother, caring above everything for the service of the Lord.

Early on the 18th, preparations for our return journey in a little one-horse vehicle were made. After our last breakfast with the dear family and a cordial parting with all the members of the household, we started with Brother Martin on our

way to his brother Jacob's on the Flatrock River. The path was somewhat better and more distinct than the one on which we had come. As we proceeded very slowly, Brother Frueauf walked the entire distance, while I held a long pleasant, important, final conversation with Brother Martin Hauser. Toward noon we arrived at Jacob Hauser's, where preparations were made at once to announce by messengers, who were sent out to the ferries, etc., that I would preach the next day, for through a misunderstanding the earlier announcement had been revoked. This seemed very necessary, since on the preceding Sunday, as related above, the preaching service could not be attended by many people who were eager to hear what the Brethren's belief is amidst the various winds of doctrine which roar in this wilderness. At least our brethren were very anxious for it and I myself thought it important in order to preclude, from the start, many rumors and calumnies.

Sunday, the 19th, was a fine day, though very hot. After breakfast, the Hauser brothers were busy putting up a platform which was to serve as a pulpit for me in the neighboring sugar-maple grove. Soon a suitable number of seats, or benches, of boards and fence rails, were also ready under the shade of these fine trees. By noon, the usual preaching time, a large crowd had arrived by carriage, on horseback, and on foot, from Columbus and the whole vicinity, and camped in the grove. With true concern of heart and fervent prayer to the Lord that He might give me according to His word what was needful, I then preached an hour and a half on the text already mentioned, "Other foundation [can no man lay]." I particularly emphasized that in this passage the apostle taught [us] how to look upon differences in Christian views and the preference of this or that teacher or doctrine, if only saving faith in Jesus Crucified was the foundation. I had the satisfaction of being able to infer from the various utterances of my auditors, some of whom expressed themselves to me at some length, that what was said had been a word in due

season and was well received. Several brethren had also come from Goshen whom we here again bade farewell.

After quite a cheerful dinner and some lively talks at Jacob Hauser's with many of my listeners invited to stay according to the hospitable custom of this country, about four o'clock we started with Martin on our way to Columbus, and arrived in good time. The condition of my chest made it inadvisable to preach again, as I was expected to do. Here I had the unspeakable joy of receiving a letter from my good wife for the first and only time on the whole trip. We went over the letter carefully together. Then came the time for sorrowful parting with dear Martin, whom I shall never forget. He returned the same evening as far as his brother's.

[FROM COLUMBUS, INDIANA, TO GNADENHUTTEN, OHIO]

By this time the stage coach for Madison was finally running. We left on it early on the 20th, at half past three o'clock in the morning, in company with a merchant of this place, who had already traveled with us on the steamer from Wheeling. The multitude of mosquitos at this early hour, particularly in the low places, is inconceivable. They flew into our eyes by thousands and could only halfway be warded off by great effort and by smoke. As far as Brush Creek, mentioned on our way here, the road was as bad as the dexterity of our coachman was admirable, as he guided the coach and four between the holes in the road, and where this was impossible, through the woods. From there on, the effects of the general road repairs which had occurred meanwhile were very noticeable. After breakfasting at Solon, we reached Vernon as early as eleven o'clock. As the road was improved still more from here on, we would have reached Madison in very good time in spite of a violent, but short thunderstorm, had not our new driver made up his mind to walk his horses, even on the last twelve excellent miles, out of resentment at reproaches he had received earlier about one of them which had fallen. In this he did us a very bad turn, for had we arrived at Madison even a half hour earlier we

might have continued our journey at once on a steamer which was just coming up. As it was, it was nearly eight o'clock in the evening before we reached there. The result was a most tedious day at Madison, since no steamer to Cincinnati appeared until the evening of the 21st, except one quite early in the morning, of which we had not been advised. Since it is a long distance from the inn to the place of embarkation, in the afternoon we had our baggage taken to the floating wharf, and spent the afternoon and evening at an inn, where there was an opportunity to watch the steamers approaching from afar. Our patience was sorely tried, for it was midnight before a steamboat approached. We hastened to meet it.

Since the short stop of a steamer is difficult and dangerous—just recently one exploded at Wheeling on such an occasion—one is very thankful, if in this precipitate and reckless rush in the night, one gets safely aboard with his things. We had already boarded the "Volante" and it had started on, when to my dismay I discovered that part of my baggage had been left on the dock. I succeeded in recovering it, however, with the aid of the small boat. I was the only one who found an unoccupied berth in the magnificent cabin of this large steamer. Brother Frueauf and some others had to be satisfied with beds which were made up on the cabin table. The sight of this crowded cabin with fifty odd occupied berths, in which sleeping passengers were thrown up a few inches at every pulse-like vibration, was quite singular. We would not have got much rest if we had not stopped for a few hours at the mouth of the Kentucky River where considerable freight had to be taken aboard.

The ride from Madison to Cincinnati amounts to about one hundred miles, and was on the whole quite pleasant on the day of the 22nd, though from time to time we were bothered by showers. We made an interesting acquaintance with a traveler who had been in Fairfield with Brother Luckenbach only two weeks ago, and had been truly edified by him. Besides, among the numerous passengers there were many who

had just been saved from a steamer which had been wrecked on the Mississippi by a snag. As is customary on the large steamers of the western rivers, there was card playing in a corner of the large cabin almost all day long. Quite a few professional gamblers are said to spend most of their time on the steamers, in order to plunder the inexperienced. Such things, as is well known, are absolutely not tolerated on the northern waters; in general, a strikingly different tone prevails in the whole manner and conversation of the people coming up from the south, particularly from New Orleans.

In the afternoon as we approached Cincinnati, we enjoyed many exceedingly interesting sights, for in this region, both in Kentucky and in Indiana, the houses, large as well as small, are found more frequently on the banks than elsewhere. Rarely, however, did they show to good advantage on account of the exceedingly high bluffs on the river and the level surfaces upon which most of them are situated. About five o'clock we landed safely at Cincinnati and for the time being we took leave of the western steamers, very thankful to have escaped unharmed, since stories of accidents thereon were quite frequent just then.

In accordance with our promise to Captain Schulz of the cavalry, son-in-law of the rich old Mr. Brennan, we drove at once in a livery cab from the large Broadway Hotel, where we stopped, to his family's summer hotel. This was most beautifully located on the river about three miles upstream outside the city. Mr. and Mrs. Schulz, as well as old Mr. and Mrs. Brennan, received us with the greatest kindness and insisted on our staying a couple of days. These were spent principally in the city, where we took in all the sights. Cincinnati is decidedly the largest city in the whole west and at present in every respect a flourishing commercial and manufacturing town. It is advantageously located on a wide level stretch and by means of the splendid, completed Miami Canal, which begins at Dayton, the city enjoys the best connection with the richest and most fertile section of the whole state of Ohio,



which lies between the Great and the Little Miami and is justly called the garden spot of Ohio. In order not to be distracted, I delivered only the most interesting letters of introduction which I had with me and thereby made several very pleasant acquaintances. I was sorry we failed to meet Mr. Thomas Heckenwaelder, the present sheriff of the county, a Bethlehem boy who was born in my present room. However, it was gratifying to learn that he had become an honorable and highly esteemed man. Not a few Germans are residing here, and among them are many demagogic agitators, professors, and the like. Most of the Germans are confectioners or in similar lines of business. Sometimes their musical talents serve as an attraction for their establishments. Their demagoguery is generally considered a freak, since nobody in America can understand what merit there is in thinking that which everybody believes as a matter of course. The rapidity with which a magnificent city of 30,000 inhabitants, very much like Philadelphia, has grown up here, at an immense distance from the sea, causes just amazement. I can still well remember the time when this city existed only in design and when the name proposed and adopted for it gave perhaps not an unjust offense to my boyish wisdom as the nominative plural of a masculine name.

On the morning of June 25th, Mr. Schulz gave us the aid of his carriage in proceeding upon our journey. In fine weather, he drove us on a road, mostly good, to Hamilton, a very considerable town on the Miami River, twenty-five miles away, by way of Carthage where an excellent breakfast was served us. He drove, for the most part, near the canal, past his large establishment, consisting of a steam mill and a distillery, and through the continuously rich country, splendidly cultivated, where the barley harvest was just beginning. We stopped over night at Hamilton, and it was his intention to take us the next day to Dayton by way of a Shaker establishment near Miami[s]burg. However, on Sunday, June 26th, such a fearful and incessant rain began that we found it ad-

visible to remain at Hamilton, although the rain and the resulting mud shut us up in the house and made it impossible for us even to attend the remote church. Thus we observed Sunday only by getting bread and butter instead of dinner. However, it was not distinguished on the bill from a regular dinner. As there was little prospect of better weather and since in any case the roads had become very bad, we decided in the evening to continue our journey by the next day's stage coach and took grateful leave of Mr. Schulz.

On the 27th, the rainy weather still continued, but cleared up during the forenoon. When at half past three in the morning we crossed the Miami bridge on the regular stage road and made a few miles, it became apparent from unmistakable signs that the river, which must be recrossed again on this road, was too swollen to make fording practicable. We therefore had to turn back, drive through Hamilton once more, and try to proceed on this side upon roads which, normally bad, were made much worse by the rain. We then traveled through Middletown where we again met our friend, Mr. Zehender, at breakfast; and through Franklin, Miami[s]burg, and Alexanderville, in all of which places many Germans are living, to the very notable and flourishing town of Dayton. Twice we forded creeks which did not seem to be large (ordinarily), but at the time were swollen so much that the water stood several inches deep in our coach. Among our changing traveling companions, we had an opportunity to observe with astonishment how the contemporary interest in religion, so closely akin to that in politics, manifests itself: namely, in outbreaks of the pettiest disputes—which very easily become violent—about Arminian and Calvinistic tenets, etc. Withal it is astonishing how the good people can quote Scripture. A student of the Presbyterian Institute at Oxford absolutely wanted to declare an old gentleman an infidel because he believed that even now miracles might still happen. In short, it is incredible what confusion concerning religious matters is reigning in people's minds. From Dayton to Springfield we

had a courteous and educated company which delightfully shortened the otherwise tedious and very bad road. In the vicinity of Mad River, however, it led through prairies, now transformed into the widest and most fertile pastures. As is well known, the western prairies, whose great stretches, however, begin still further west in the state of Illinois, are immense, treeless, grassgrown, and in part very fertile plains. I had not seen any before, and was delighted not a little with the many interesting plants I observed here.

Further on we met with an accident. The main pole bolt of the coach suddenly broke off in a deep mud hole into which the coach sank. We could alight without difficulty, however. While some of the passengers stayed with the coach and baggage until a new pole bolt could be procured from the next place, others of us walked slowly a few miles ahead, as well as we could in the mud. My companion was the candidate for the Assembly, who was endeavoring to make friends for the next election, and for that purpose he called at the houses here and there. Finally, we came to a stop and were regaled with refreshing milk. Here we awaited the arrival of the coach and now had to ride very slowly in the darkness until ten o'clock before we reached Springfield, the next station. The branch stage line, which we were on, connects here with the main line from Cincinnati. The Cincinnati coach had not yet arrived because it had had the misfortune of losing a horse in the deep water; thus, after a light supper, we had the advantage of a refreshing rest of an hour and a half on a cot.

Soon after the 28th of June had begun, however, we were on the road again and had to cover about thirty-six miles in fog and dampness on a corduroy road, which for the most part is very bad. We did not pass through any town, but through botanically curious plains or half-prairies, as they are called, remarkable from a botanical point of view, which when it grew daylight greatly engaged my attention. Besides some very badly swollen creeks had to be forded. After a

poor breakfast we approached Columbus, the capital of the state of Ohio, on the Scioto, where there was again extraordinarily fertile and well-cultivated land. This town is already very important because it is the seat of government. We should have liked to have got something to eat at the magnificent hotel where we stopped at noontide; but before it was ready, we had to obey the call to the coach again, as terribly black thunderclouds were gathering. After a long roundabout way, just when we were crossing a greatly swollen stream with much difficulty, the storm burst with such a downpour as I have rarely seen. Fortunately it did not last long; on the long, tedious further ride we only had to suffer from the corduroy road which had become still worse from the rain and from hunger which was at last tolerably appeased at a miserable hovel about four o'clock. Toward evening we got unexpectedly on a good road again at the nice little town of Granville on the Licking River, and into a beautiful region which, however, was soon concealed by darkness. Soon after nine o'clock, however, we safely arrived at the destination of this our 166-mile coach journey, the town of Newark, on that part of the great Ohio Canal which has already been completed. Here we could rest again in excellent beds after a ride of forty-one hours. It seemed encouraging for the complete restoration of my health that I could withstand such a trip with so little fatigue.

We had to remain, in delightful weather, at Newark all day long on the 29th, because no comfortable canal boat, such as we wished, left in the direction of Gnadenhuetten, fifty odd miles distant, till the 30th, at about nine o'clock. These canal boats, four of which usually come and go daily, are very spacious, and at present those going to Lake Erie are heavily loaded with flour for the New York market. At their prow they are provided with very comfortable and usually beautifully decorated cabins, in which ten or twelve passengers find respectable accommodations and good board at two and a half cents a mile. They are drawn by two horses and, including

the stops at the numerous locks, make about three or four miles an hour.

The first day's ride through country which in parts was very fertile was very pleasant. Once we passed a magnificent cornfield of 150 acres—an acre often yields one hundred bushels. In the afternoon the canal descended into the bed of the Licking River, where there are very romantic banks for about six miles, and some coniferous trees, the only ones we noticed in the West. Before dark, we reached the two-mile branch canal which leads to Dresden, a town of some size on the Muskingum, and soon afterwards we rode along the side of this river. As far as the Licking, our ride through the locks was descending. From there on, where we left its bed again, the canal is fed by the water of the Tuscarawas, which we usually incorrectly call the Muskingum. The river receives this name only after its juncture with the Walhonding at Coshocton. Consequently one ascends through the locks toward Gnadenhuetten. At present this enterprise, the benefit and usefulness of which for this section of the country is quite obvious, is only completed and in operation from Cleveland on Lake Erie to Hebron, eight miles below Newark. In the course of this year, the canal will, in all probability, be completed as far as Chillicothe and in the next, reach the Ohio. An immeasurable tract of the most fertile country, which up to the present has had no sale for its products, will thereby immediately obtain a desirable market. Even now the results everywhere manifested are incredible. The condition of the inhabitants about Gnadenhuetten, particularly, has greatly changed for the better this last year, and it now only takes industry to make a secure livelihood, even though such extravagant prices as have been obtained for wheat this year—almost as much as at Bethlehem—cannot last. At fifty cents a bushel, however, these productive fields can be tilled at not a little profit.

During the night, while we were resting in comfortable berths, we passed, without being aware of it, the great acque-



duct which carries the canal over the Walhonding at Coshocton, the former Gosachguenk of missionary history. On the morning of July 1st, the pleasure of our ride was oftentimes curtailed by showers; yet we could be on deck most of the time. We now passed the insignificant [village of] New Comerstown and came to the former Society land, and for the first time to regions where I had been before. A new little town on the canal, Salebury, is arising on the former Salem or lower tract. From there on, I partly remembered the surroundings. We were told that the lock where one lands for Gnadenhuetten was a mile and a half from the town; this is certainly a great handicap for the use of the canal, because the Tuscarawas River flows between the community and the landing place and cuts it off from the canal. Nevertheless, Brothers Demuth and Wuensch have built a storehouse at the lock, and Brother Huber, who emigrated from Switzerland some years ago, has built a cigar manufactory.

[THE MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT AT GNADENHUETTEN, OHIO]

I was somewhat at a loss as to how we should get to Gnadenhuetten with our baggage and quite uncertain as to whether or not we were expected. It was therefore the more gratifying to learn at Brother Huber's that it was taken for granted that we would arrive this very day and that our coming would cause great rejoicing. We stopped at his house with our baggage, and he hastened over the river—it was about noon—to tell of our arrival to Sam Huebner, who intended to fetch us over the river with his one-horse vehicle. In a little while he himself came across and welcomed us most heartily; he came on foot, however, because the river was too high to ford and there was no other ferry than a small bateau.<sup>34</sup> Since the rain had ceased, we were glad to go with him on foot—our baggage being sent after us—to Gnadenhuetten, where eight years ago I spent four interesting weeks at the time of our negotiation with Governor Cass,

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<sup>34</sup>A bateau was a small flat-bottomed boat.

which produced such beneficent results for the Society for the Heathen, for our Indians, and especially for this whole region. For without personal observation nobody can fully comprehend the disadvantage which a large unsaleable tract of good land—such as the 12,000 acres which belongs to the Society—carries with it out in this western country. This is due to the poor population which is attracted by merely leaseable land, and to the inevitable obstacles in the way of all improvements on unsaleable territory. Only the most unlimited, free power of disposal of landed property is consistent with the kind of prosperity demanded by these regions. It should not be wondered at, therefore, that all reservations of this kind are everywhere viewed askance in the vicinity. This is the case, also, with our Erie land, where, however, there is fortunately no legal obstacle to prevent changing the conditions as soon as we wish.

It is quite comprehensible, indeed, why, during the nineties, people acted just as they did in regard to the so-called Muskingum Society land, when no experience could give enlightenment on all these matters. Now it is known that nothing more certainly foredoomed to failure could have been tried. Now there is no one, at least no one who knows the nature of the new states, who could commit the formerly widespread folly of investing capital in uncultivated land, be it ever so fertile, which is allowed to lie uncultivated in the expectation that the increased price after thirty years or more would yield rich compensation and profit. Among others, it cost the late Brother Cunow almost his entire fortune. The price does not rise at all perceptibly without cultivation, for even in spite of the present good prospects on account of the canal, no more can be obtained than thirty years ago for wild land, no matter how good, while a properly improved plantation has a sixfold value. The great cost of cultivation, the worthlessness of the wood, and the quantity of wild land still inexhaustible for a long time to come furnish a sufficient explanation.

However, I return to our arrival at Gnadenhuetten, where we were taken in the bateau by the youngest son of David Peter, an excellent old friend whom we greeted in passing. We got the kindest and most hospitable reception from our dear Brother and Sister Huebner in their pretty, new, up-to-date house, for which the former one-story cabin-like structure, in which I once spent four weeks at Rauschenberger's, now serves as a kitchen. The rest of the little town also, though small and containing, apart from the quite appropriate church, only ten or twelve houses in all, has gained much in appearance by Demuth's well-appointed inn and the still uncompleted, two-story brick house of Brother David Peter.

On account of the rareness of a visit and the general rejoicing of the brethren, I realized at once that I must spend two Sundays in these parts in order to preach at Sharon and in order to do as much visiting here as was feasible. This was partly the reason that I was induced to abandon my intention of going on the canal to Lake Erie and thence by way of Niagara into the New York canal, for it threatened to take too much time and money. To be sure, it would not have taken much longer time for the journey itself, although it would have been more than twice as far as by way of Pittsburgh, but a considerably longer stay at several places would have been unavoidable.

As early as July 2nd, we had the pleasure of receiving a very agreeable visit from Brother Jacob Blickensdoerfer, of Dover, a man as sensible and esteemed as any in the whole state, and a worthy member of the Sharon committee, with whom I have been in friendly relations for some time. He stayed all day with us and accompanied us to Sharon on Sunday, the third. As is well known, it is scarcely possible to drive here a couple of miles without having to cross the river. This day, however, we could ford it quite well with Brother Huebner's one-horse vehicle. As it was fine weather, a very large congregation had assembled about the little church, and I greeted with pleasure the members whom I knew. In a short

address to the congregation I conveyed to them the heartiest greetings of the Provincial Helpers' Conference, and told them something of my visit in Indiana and of the rising little congregation there in order to enlist their sympathy for it. I then preached in the German language with heartfelt sincerity. We dined at noon at John Blickensdoerfer's and spent a very pleasant afternoon there, in the company of many brethren. After several other short visits we drove back to Gnadenhuetten toward evening.

During a great part of the following week, our enjoyment was rather curtailed by continuous, and in part heavy, rains. Besides, first Brother Frueauf and then I myself was somewhat afflicted with diarrhoea and nausea, which soon abated, however. On Thursday, in spite of the bad weather, Brother Frueauf rode, by way of the old mission place of Goshen, where he visited the grave of the late Brother Zeisberger, to Dover to Brother Jacob Blickensdoerfer's. This mission house was burnt a short while ago through the negligence of the wretched Teichmann, of Christiansfeld, to whom it had just been sold. Unfortunately the rain and my ailment frustrated our driving there together and thence to Zoar to visit the remarkable and very flourishing settlement, under the leadership of Baeumler, of the Wuerttembergers, who have an institutional organization. Brother Frueauf, however, together with Blickensdoerfer, paid a visit there to Baeumler's great delight, as I had done eight years ago. Besides taking as many botanical walks with Brother Huebner as the weather permitted, I called meanwhile at the homes of all the Gnadenhuetten brethren. I also had a long business call from Brother Boas Walton, my agent, on the matter of the mission land and the Cunow property of which I am executor. The measures taken, thank God, have been successful so far, so that this whole matter is being settled and almost half the fortune invested will be saved for Brother Cunow's widow after all. I was also so fortunate as to sell a good piece of the mission land again.

Saturday afternoon Brother Frueauf came back. The weather finally cleared up to the delight of everybody, since the rain threatened to endanger the fine crops. However, it grew extraordinarily cold for the season. However, the weather was favorable for an exceedingly large attendance at the Sunday sermon at Gnadenhuetten on July 10th, when I first conveyed cordial greetings to this congregation, also. I then opened my heart to them on the text, "Little children abide in Him,"<sup>35</sup> with a feeling that I should....<sup>36</sup> probably never preach to them again. After a hasty dinner we went to Dover with Brother and Sister Huebner and their entire family, and Sister Peter, who were invited with us to Blickensdoerfer's. We were accompanied by most of the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten, young and old, across the river to the lock where we intended to await a boat going up the canal.

[FROM GNADENHUETTEN TO BETHLEHEM]

In this large and happy company, our almost endless wait did not become irksome. A descending boat, loaded with ninety German emigrants, passed by and gave much pleasure to the young folks of Gnadenhuetten who rode a short distance on it. We were surprised to hear from the emigrants that this was only the eighth Sunday since their departure from Europe; so fast had they come across the ocean, up the North River,<sup>37</sup> the New York Canal, Lake Erie, and the Ohio Canal to this remote region. It is indeed remarkable how much this cheap, inland navigation diminishes distances and promotes the settling of emigrants. When the sun was about to set, we bade farewell to our dear Gnadenhuetten people. After they went home, our company waited in vain for a boat in the penetrating cold until after nine o'clock.

We were just thinking of making arrangements to spend the night at the Hubers', good people but poor, when fortunately a boat appeared. We boarded it and found quite toler-

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<sup>35</sup>I John 2:28.

<sup>36</sup>Text defective.

<sup>37</sup>Hudson River.



able accommodations. In spite of the cold night, we stayed up to view by starlight the somewhat precarious passage around steep Mount Esra, just opposite Gnadenhuetten, and then tried to get some rest in the beds which had been made up meanwhile. We would have succeeded, if from time to time some thirty barrels of flour which were on deck had not been rolled to and fro the whole length of the boat above our heads. An inquiry revealed that this was done in order to float the boat, which had run aground in a shallow place. After a few hours the efforts were successful, and the episode had this advantage that we were able to spend the whole night aboard quietly and to arrive at Blickensdoerfers' at a suitable hour, instead of arriving in the middle of the night, for the distance was only fourteen miles.

Brother and Sister Blickensdoerfer received us with great love and kindness and we spent a pleasant day with them in the thriving little commercial town of Dover, whose existence has brought the neighboring New Philadelphia, three miles beyond the river, to a complete standstill. We botanized a great deal in the wide, fertile prairies, plains overgrown with quite low bushes scarcely four feet high. We also received much important and instructive information from Brother Blickensdoerfer, who serves as judge and possesses an uncommonly extensive knowledge of the whole district. He carries on a considerable commission business on the canal, and at the same time he is chief collector of revenue for it.

On Tuesday, the 12th, he helped us continue our journey and with Brother Huebner accompanied us on our departure before sunrise to New Philadelphia. Here after taking friendly leave of them, we boarded the stage coach for Steubenville, which, I am sorry to say, was not as comfortable as the preceding ones. For the first eight miles we surely yearned for a comfortable coach for the road was the worst and the roughest yet encountered. The weather was pleasant. From Leesburg, where we had breakfast, to our night's stopping place, Annapolis, formerly called Salem, which we reached very

early, the road was better and quite pleasant. This whole part of the state of Ohio consists of an uninterrupted succession of high hills, which have in part very good land, however, and are cultivated in an amazing way. I observed with pleasure the increase of cultivation during the past eight years, and could not cease wondering at the relatively small quantity of forest through which we passed, reflecting that fifty years ago there was not a field in this wide tract.

Early on the 13th, we continued our journey through even more cultivated and hilly country. About nine o'clock in the forenoon we descended from Richmond on the summit of the high hills which skirt the river everywhere and arrived at the important manufacturing town of Steubenville on the Ohio. We had already learned at Annapolis that we could not proceed to Pittsburgh this day, as we had hoped, for the Pittsburgh coach leaves very early in the morning. We therefore had to wait until the next morning, since we did not feel like going by steamer. There was no lack of entertainment and in the evening when the heat, and also a toothache with which I suffered, abated, we saw the town thoroughly. In the ensuing night I noticed for the first time again traces of a cough, without surmising, however, that within a week after my return it would again become so violent and tight as to threaten to deprive me of any benefit from my journey. This was unfortunately the case, although during the rest of the journey I felt perfectly well and cheerful.

After proceeding two miles on this side on our way to Pittsburgh, we took the ferry across the Ohio which, in this morning hour, was covered with such a dense fog that it was impossible to see a ferry's length ahead. Then we traveled through the thin strip of the state of Virginia which stretches between the river and Pennsylvania, until we reached Cross Roads in Pennsylvania. Here we had an excellent breakfast and then proceeded very fast on good roads in a very comfortable coach, in spite of the continuous hills over which we traveled. Through a deep, long valley we finally

arrived again about noon at the Ohio, and had before us a short distance, wrapped in clouds of smoke, the great, populous and remarkable city of Pittsburgh, the first in America in productive factories of all kinds—especially iron, glass, cloth, and cotton goods. It is wonderfully situated in the fork of the two great streams, the Allegheny and the Monongahela, which from here on form the Ohio, with indescribably beautiful surroundings and with gigantic bridges over these two rivers. Instead of following the turnpike up the Monongahela to the bridge, the coach drove directly on the immense steam-ferry which, in incredibly short time, landed us in the city just where the rivers meet, and so we arrived at the inn, very near the remnants of the fort [built] there against the Indians, formerly so important but long since abandoned.

It is difficult to drive through the streets because everywhere wrecking and new construction is going on, which here in Pittsburgh far exceeded anything seen before. The indescribable activity and the effects of the spirit of unlimited enterprise, astonishing everywhere in America, but especially so in the west, acquire in this wealthy city an especial character, because here, more than anywhere else, they bear the marks of solidity. On the neck of land on which Pittsburgh proper stands, cut off at the back by Grant's Hill, there is scarcely a spot that is not covered with houses. And since the great Pennsylvania Canal has been brought down into the Monongahela River by a cut clear through Grant's Hill and then by locks, this high hill itself has been entirely covered with houses, for the cut has been converted into a tunnel or underground canal by a vaulted cover and by filling in. The canal comes down on the other side of the Allegheny River into the wonderfully beautiful, new town of Allegheny which has arisen at the place where it meets the river and which is included in the 26,000 population attributed to Pittsburgh. Quite against the interests of the state, and solely for the benefit of the Old Pittsburgh, the canal at reckless and unnecessary ex-

pense is brought across the Allegheny River in an enormous aqueduct above the bridge, costing more than \$1,000,000.

After we learned that we could hope to get as far as Reading on our homeward journey advantageously on the so-called northern route in three and one-half days, and still expect some hours of sleep every day, we decided to take this new way on Sunday, the seventeenth. We then resolved to use one of the intervening days for an excursion to the most remarkable settlement of the famous Mr. Rapp in Economy, ten miles distant;<sup>38</sup> and on the other, to see the sights of Pittsburgh more in detail. Accordingly, on the morning of the 15th, we started for Economy in a livery cab on a very interesting road, which kept descending close to the Ohio, and offered the most glorious views and scenery. We reached this very unique place about nine o'clock. The immense fields and meadows in the finest state of cultivation and covered with whole armies of Economists ploughing, mowing, and hay-making together arouse astonishment which becomes even greater when one reaches the pleasant town laid out in squares and containing about 150 two-story, half brick and half framework, whitewashed private houses, exactly alike; besides several very large factories and other public buildings, a beautiful church, and the houses which serve for Mr. Rapp's own residence. One peculiarity of the private houses is conspicuous; namely, that no doors open into the street, but the entrance is always on the side through the yard. The dress of the people is plain, but suitable. Their whole appearance, especially that of the women who were hay-making together, irresistibly called up recollections of my earliest childhood

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<sup>38</sup>This is the settlement developed by George Rapp and his followers, as described later, after they sold New Harmony, on the Wabash in the present Posey County, to Robert Owen, and left Indiana in 1824. For the Rappites at Harmony and for the development of New Harmony, see Lockwood, George B., *The New Harmony Movement* (New York, 1905). On the Rappites at Economy, see Bouswan, Joseph, *History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania*, vol. II, pp. 1004-35 (1904), and Williams, Aaron, *Harmony Society at Economy, Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1866).

when I was accustomed to see something quite similar at Bethlehem and especially at Gnadenthal. All wear broad brimmed, but quite good looking straw hats. If one considers that only seven years ago Rapp commenced here anew, after selling a very similar establishment on the Wabash, New Harmony, on account of the unhealthiness of the region, just as he had already previously sold Old Harmony in this present vicinity because his people were becoming alienated from him there, one must marvel at the success of the joint efforts which are most prudently directed from one center. The more than one thousand acres of fields in a perfect state of cultivation, which were still forests seven years ago, and the numerous buildings of every kind give no small idea of it.

As I had with me several recommendations to old Mr. Rapp himself, and spoke of this right away in the well-appointed and spacious inn, they were taken from me and carried to his house while we were breakfasting. Everybody speaks German and an external similarity to a German community is indeed apparent, especially at the inn and in the conduct of the persons employed there. It seems that the good people are forming families now, for although only few children and very few young people were seen in proportion to the whole number of over eight hundred inhabitants, they were not entirely lacking. Not without a secret smile I noticed that the information we received on such matters from the landlord and waiter bore distinctly the traces of a familiar sort of reticence, talkative and inquisitive as they were in all other matters with us, as Germans. It was evidently no more agreeable to them than, for example, it is with us when strangers ask about the marriage-lot and such things.

We had to wait a rather long time until we were introduced to the old gentleman because he was inspecting the fields. At length we were taken to his magnificently furnished, papered, and carpeted apartments and were most kindly received first by his adopted son, Frederick Rapp, and then by the aged man himself, very striking with his long silver



hair. Our conversation was long and varied since the visit of members of the Moravian brotherhood seemed to interest him very much. Among other things, he dilated on Count Zinzendorf as a very great man who had also had the joy of seeing his extensive enterprises succeed so beautifully—that I was his great-grandson was of course a matter of interest to him also. At a remark of mine which he seemed to interpret as aiming at a comparison between our condition and that of his establishment, he undertook to explain in his stentorian voice that the difference consisted in the lack of obedience—which in America does not outlast the second generation—and obedience alone made the success of such enterprises possible. I should have liked exceedingly to get into a more detailed conversation with this obviously shrewd man, and should have asked him many a question which would probably have given me more light on the whole matter. My knowledge of our own former circumstances, especially in external matters, would have enabled me to do so, but the time of our acquaintance was too short for it. Only one thing struck me: judging from all he let fall, there appeared to exist absolutely no real, religious foundation of the association, still less a Christian purpose, but all tended only to the *bene esse*. Yet Rapp is the preacher and the society rightly honors him as its father and supporter. He rules absolutely, however, and does not even seem to wield the staff of leniency on any favored ones; at least he speaks in a rough and commanding tone with everybody.

He offered us several kinds of wines which he made here and on the Wabash, some of which were good but by no means comparable to the wine of our Bethlehem vineyards. He then took us completely through his large garden, stocked with the finest kinds of fruit and various sorts of plants and flowers, and at the same time given a half-way park effect, adorned here and there with pavilions and statues and the like in rather baroque style. He showed us a peculiar group of cottages on an artificial hill where music is given at eve-

ning time, and the people lie down round about. He also had a dish of excellent cherries, morellos, picked for us, which we then ate in the house amid further conversation. Thereupon he excused himself on account of business and regretted that he could not keep us for dinner. His son took us around further, especially to the museum. This is a large building with a gambrel roof which looks very much like the "Gemeinhaus" at Herrnhut. It is under the supervision of Dr. Mueller who in former years made himself useful as a botanist and still speaks enthusiastically of that science and of music. He is director and also composer for them. He knew me by name and received me with great joy and love, showing us first the museum which is arranged in three large halls. It consists of stuffed animals, birds, and all possible objects of nature and art, accumulated without any taste, however, and still less scientific order; it contains nothing particularly remarkable. Many pictures and paintings also hang there. I was therefore the more delighted, as dinner approached, with Dr. Mueller's offer to show me when it was over the herbarium which is quite significant and principally collected along the Wabash, while Brother Frueauf was shown around in the church and elsewhere by the ordinary visitors' guide. The herbarium gave me great pleasure and yielded me many plants, as well as the acquaintance—bearing similar good fruit—with a Pittsburgh apothecary who also happened to be there and, introducing himself as a botanist, invited me to his house. We started on our way back, after four o'clock, quite happy over this visit. All day long the weather was clear, but so cold that one could comfortably wear an overcoat. The ride back through the romantic region was glorious. In the seven-mile Narrows, the river hills, mostly perpendicular rocks, came so close to the river that there is scarcely space for the road. At sunset nothing is more beautiful than the immediate environs of Pittsburgh.

We spent Saturday in a pleasant manner, seeing the notable sights of the city in the gracious company of Mr. Darling-

ton, one of the gentlemen to whom I was recommended. The fearful rains of the past week had caused such floods in this region that the Pennsylvania Canal, constructed very badly here as everywhere and with the greatest waste of money, had suffered a very material damage. Among other things the main dam at the Kiskiminitas which furnishes it its water has been almost entirely washed away, so that it has gone dry at present. The navigation, which was already very considerable, will probably be hampered for the whole year. This, however, did not prevent us from thoroughly examining the tunnel and aqueduct on the canal, as well as a very interesting and extensive iron works where, in a so-called rolling mill, pig-iron is drawn into bars with admirable rapidity.

Early on the 17th, we left Pittsburgh in clear weather on the so-called northern route, which does not branch off from the southern turnpike, however, till Wilkesburg. We traveled in a comfortable coach which fortunately was not overcrowded with passengers on the whole journey, for this is especially annoying in hot weather, as we had occasion to observe for example at the breakfast place where we arrived at the same time as the passengers on the Philadelphia coach. They were fourteen in number, and no wonder that several appeared to be quite exhausted. Just where the two roads part, in the environs of Turtle Creek which consist of high steep defiles, lies the battlefield, noteworthy in American history, where the British General Braddock was vanquished in 1775 by the Indians and French, and the remnants of his army were saved by Washington. Later on we found, to be sure, a good road and excellent views, but an almost uninterrupted, steep mountain ascent and descent, until we crossed the Loyalhanna, quite an important river, and approached the town of Blairsville, which has grown up like a mushroom on the canal, on the still larger Conemaugh River. Here there appeared fearful traces of the devastation wrought everywhere by the waters. Among other things, a high mill-dam over which the turnpike passes was half washed away, so that we had to

take a long roundabout way before we got on the pike again. Blairsville, where we took dinner, is one of those quick births—perhaps also a miscarriage—of the spirit of speculation and enterprise, which probably can be found only in this country. On a spot where only four years ago there stood no buildings at all, several hundred elegant brick houses, some very large, now form an apparently fine town which has grown up as if by a stroke of magic. Where the enterprise is based upon an erroneous calculation, as it seems to be in this case, just as quick a decay must be expected, traces of which are not yet visible, to be sure, but which are said to have already commenced. From here on we were always near the large Western Pennsylvania Canal which, however, is not completed much farther than here. A railroad, upon which work is just commencing, connects the western canal at Blair's Gap in the Allegheny Mountains with the eastern canal down the Juniata and Susquehannah. The freight charges from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh will indeed be much reduced by this line of communication. Even now it amounts only to \$1.50 per hundred-weight, although long stretches of the canal cannot yet be used for navigation. Earlier than I had expected, we arrived at our night quarters, the pretty little town of Armagh, and could still enjoy four to five hours of rest before resuming our journey on the 18th.

We now gradually approached the mountains proper, although there was nowhere a long, much less a steep mountain. On the contrary our road passed frequently through beautiful valleys grown with spruce forests. The overcast sky too soon changed into rain, in the midst of which we had the pleasure of meeting an old acquaintance from Bethlehem, Mr. Welsh. He is at present chief engineer of the canal in this region—as he had been with our canal—and was on his way to examine the damage the enterprise had suffered. Another Bethlehem acquaintance, Mr. Roberts, a young engineer, kept us very pleasant company in the coach from Ebensburg on, which is the county seat of Cambria County. As it was raining

hard, this gave us [our only] opportunity to obtain very satisfactory information on the location of the railroad which we passed and on the whole situation.

Through the darkest and finest spruce forests, we reached almost unnoticeably the crest of the Allegheny Mountains in Blair's Gap. Now one descends uninterruptedly for several miles along the little mountain stream which, at the little towns of Hollidaysburg and Franktown, forms the Juniata. From here on the Eastern Pennsylvania Canal, for the most part already completed, runs a short distance from the road, which descends continuously in the indescribably romantic valley of the Juniata to the Susquehannah above Harrisburg. Only here and there, where the river hills come too close to the bank, did the road again cross the mountains, so that it can truthfully be said that on this route the otherwise wearisome passage over the many successive ridges of the Allegheny Mountains is hardly noticed. Only the fact that it is still necessary several times to ford the Juniata, which gradually grows into a large river, and that there may be long delays at a sudden rise of the water, explains that the numerous freight conveyances prefer to go to Pittsburgh by way of Bedford. Almost everywhere, however, the construction of bridges is in progress.

Soon after sunset, we came to the important town of Huntington and after supper had an opportunity to sleep until one o'clock, which rested me completely. At this early hour, on the 19th, we commenced our further journey to Harrisburg, by way of Waynesburg, Lewiston, Mifflin, and Thompsontown, a distance of almost one hundred miles. It was due to the dark, early hours that we noticed little of the awe-inspiring precipices along which the road ran. When it became light and the weather proved fine we enjoyed without interruption splendid (at times, exquisite) views in the charming Juniata Valley, through which we drove very fast, for with few exceptions, the road was very fine. At the mouth of the Juniata, in the gigantic Susquehannah River,



there is forming a large and extraordinarily fertile island. We finally crossed this Susquehanna River on a fearfully long bridge, where Clark's Ferry formerly ran. We went at a great speed along its most remarkable banks for fourteen miles to the capital of Pennsylvania, all the while admiring the group of islands and rock reefs which give such a peculiar and remarkable appearance to this river, at places a mile and a half wide. A river of such magnitude, which is nowhere really navigable, not even at its mouth, is perhaps not to be found anywhere else. Here, if anywhere, a canal is a commercial necessity. The Pennsylvania Canal along which one descends appears to be really well made in this region. It was probably about eight o'clock when we arrived at Harrisburg. Consequently we could rest only a couple of hours as we had to continue our journey on the 20th at one o'clock in the morning.

The road was excellent from now on. We had breakfast at Lebanon, after a ride of about six hours on an empty stomach—a method of traveling which we did not find at all uncomfortable. After proceeding quickly through the fertile fields of Lebanon and Berks County, we arrived at Reading as early as eleven o'clock in the forenoon and spent the remainder of the day quite pleasantly there. From a newspaper which we got here we learned with the utmost sorrow of the decease of our worthy old Brother Jacob van Vleck whom I had left without much hope of again finding him here below.

Full of longing for our beloved home and our dear ones, we boarded the coach for Bethlehem early on the 21st, for the last time, in fine clear weather. Breakfast was taken at Kultstown, and to our impatient disappointment we stopped unusually long for dinner at Allentown. Nevertheless this gave us an opportunity to call on John Rice there and to assure ourselves of the wellbeing of our people from whom we had not heard directly since June 1st. At about three o'clock we arrived safely at our dear Bethlehem, full of thanks

and praise, and were welcomed with joy by everybody. We ourselves were filled with delight at meeting all our dear ones again. I hopefully trust that the Lord will not let the beneficent results of my journey which have been lessened by the new attack of my cough wholly vanish.

We have traveled twenty-one hundred miles (English; four hundred and fifty German miles) on this journey.



# THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF INDIANA

*By*

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## THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF INDIANA<sup>1</sup>

WHEN those of the original thirteen states which laid claim to the Northwest Territory ceded these claims to the United States government, it was with the understanding that new states would be formed and added to the Union. In the original cession of Virginia these prospective states were defined as areas to contain not less than one hundred and not more than one hundred fifty miles square of territory.<sup>2</sup> In accordance with this plan, Thomas Jefferson drew the draft of the Ordinance of 1784 for the government of the territory; the land was to be divided into ten states, some of which would bear such names as Sylvania, Cherronesus, Assenisipia, Poly-potamia, and Pelisipia.<sup>3</sup>

At this time James Monroe made a trip into this western country and reported:

A great part of the territory is measurably poor, especially that near Lakes Michigan and Erie; and that upon the Mississippi and the Illinois consists of extensive plains which have not had, from appearances, and will not have, a single bush on them for ages. The districts, therefore, within which these fall, will, perhaps, never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the Confederacy.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For much of the information used in this article, credit is due to the librarians who assisted, in the Gary Public Library, the Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio State Libraries, the Chicago Historical Society, and the Newberry Libraries; especially to Esther U. McNitt and her assistant, Olga F. Ruehl, of the Indiana State Library, who gave much thought and search in an effort to find material bearing on this subject. For the map, we are indebted to George Pence, of Columbus, Indiana.

<sup>2</sup>*Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup>Ford, Paul Leicester (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. IV, pp. 251-55 (New York, 1904). The word "Cherronesus" is thus spelled in Jefferson's original draft.

<sup>4</sup>Larzelere, Claude S., "The Boundaries of Michigan," *Michigan Historical Collections*, Vol. XXX, p. 6.

This visit undoubtedly influenced Congress to determine on the advisability of larger geographical units, and a resolution was passed July 7, 1786 asking Virginia to change her original cession relative to the boundaries, because of the "many and great inconveniences" it would cause. Certain of these inconveniences were listed :

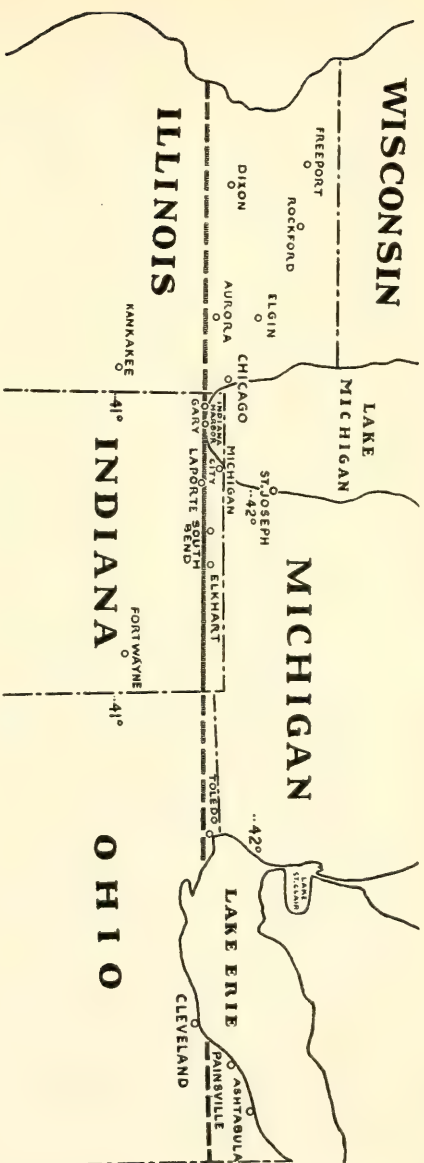
That by such a division of the country, some of the new states will be deprived of the advantages of navigation, some will be improperly intersected by lakes, rivers and mountains, and some will contain too great a proportion of barren unimprovable land, and of consequence will not for many years, if ever, have a sufficient number of inhabitants to form a respectable government, and entitle them to a seat and voice in the federal council: And whereas in fixing the limits and dimensions of the new states, due attention ought to be paid to natural boundaries, and a variety of circumstances which will be pointed out by a more perfect knowledge of the country, so as to provide for the future growth and prosperity of each state, as well as for the accommodation and security of the first adventurers.<sup>5</sup>

We find therefore, that Congress adopted a new draft of an ordinance, drawn for the government of this area, known in history as the Ordinance of 1787. Article V of this document provided for the establishment of

Not less than three nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to-wit: The Western State in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post St. Vincent's, due North, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and, by the said territorial line, to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post Vincent's, to the Ohio; by the Ohio, by a direct line, drawn due North from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The Eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: *Provided, however*, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies North of an East and West line drawn through the Southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And, whenever any of the said States shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an

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<sup>5</sup>*Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV, p. 663.



SKETCH MAP ILLUSTRATING CHANGES IN THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY AND STATE  
 [Drawn by George Pence, 1927]

equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government.<sup>6</sup>

Had this line been adhered to as a boundary, the people dwelling in part of Toledo, in Painesville, Ashtabula, Conneaut, and Jefferson, Ohio, and those in Michigan City, South Bend, Mishawaka, Elkhart, LaGrange, and Angola, Indiana, would be living in Michigan; those in East Chicago and Whiting, Indiana, and in Chicago, Elgin, Aurora, Dixon, and Freeport, Illinois, would be living in Wisconsin. Again, had the line laid down in the Ordinance of 1787 been held inviolable as a boundary, neither Indiana nor Illinois would have had a foot of frontage on any one of the Great Lakes; Michigan and Wisconsin would have been disproportionately large; Michigan would have owned a triangle on the southern shore of Lake Erie wholly disconnected from the parent state.

The entire area was organized and governed as one territory until the Act of May 13, 1800 provided for the organization of the western part as Indiana Territory, the eastern part (including the future state of Ohio) retaining the name of Northwest Territory. Ohio entered the Union in 1802. When Congress passed the Enabling Act for this state, Section 2 provided that it should be bounded "on the north by an east and west line, drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan," which line we shall hereafter speak of as the Ordinance Line.<sup>7</sup> Its exact latitude was at that time unknown; some considerable settlements had grown up where Toledo now stands, at the mouth of the Maumee River; prominent citizens and real estate men had planned a canal from Cincinnati to enter Lake Erie at this point, believing it to be within the state of Ohio. The story is told that when the constitutional convention was preparing the constitution of Ohio, a veteran trapper informed the

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<sup>6</sup>Kettleborough, Charles, *Constitution Making in Indiana*, Vol. I, pp. 32-33 (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Indianapolis, 1916); Macdonald, William (ed.), *Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1926*, pp. 215-16 (New York, 1926).

<sup>7</sup>*Annals*, 7 Congress, 1 session, col. 1349; see also Sherman, C. E., *The Ohio-Michigan Boundary*, p. 16 (*Ohio Co-operative Topographic Survey*, Vol. I, Ohio State Reformatory Press, 1916).

delegates that in reality the mouth of the Maumee River lay much farther north than had been supposed.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly Article VII of Ohio's constitution contained the proviso that the state should be bounded as follows:

On the north by an east and west line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan . . . provided always and it is hereby fully understood and declared by this convention, that if the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan should extend so far south that a line drawn due east from it should not intersect Lake Erie, or if it should intersect the said Lake Erie east of the mouth of the Miami River of the Lake, then in that case, with the assent of the Congress of the United States, the northern boundary of this state shall be established by, and extending to, a direct line running from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of the Miami Bay.<sup>9</sup>

The territory north of the Ordinance Line was organized under Indiana Territory.<sup>10</sup> Michigan Territory was separated from Indiana in 1805; Section 1 of the Act provided that it was to consist of "all that part of the Indiana Territory which lies north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend or extreme, of Lake Michigan."<sup>11</sup> After the official survey of the line, Michigan continued to exercise her former jurisdiction over the populous towns and villages of the mouth of the Maumee—which were claimed by Ohio—until she entered the Union in 1837.

In 1811 the territorial legislature of Indiana petitioned Congress to advance the territory to statehood. Upon the recommendation of a special committee the national House of Representatives passed a resolution, March 31, 1812, that this should be done whenever the "population of its Federal numbers" amounted to 35,000. Under the direction of the territorial legislature a census was taken in 1815 which showed a population in the thirteen organized counties of 63,897.<sup>12</sup> Ac-

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<sup>8</sup>Burnet, Jacob, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwestern Territory*, p. 360 (Cincinnati, 1847); see also *Committee Reports*, 23 Congress, 1 session, No. 334, p. 41.

<sup>9</sup>Sherman, *The Ohio-Michigan Boundary*, p. 16.

<sup>10</sup>*Appeal by the Convention of Michigan*, p. 37 (Detroit, 1835).

<sup>11</sup>*Annals*, 8 Congress, 2 session, col. 1659. The italics are the author's.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 14 Congress, 1 session, col. 460.



cordingly a formal petition was adopted by the territorial legislature on December 11, 1815 asking for the admission of Indiana to the Union and stipulating certain grants and provisions desired from the federal government.<sup>13</sup> This was presented to the national House of Representatives on December 28, 1815 by Jonathan Jennings, the territorial delegate.<sup>14</sup> The petition was referred to a committee composed of Jonathan Jennings, Samuel McKee, Bennett H. Henderson, John Reed, and Hosea Moffit.<sup>15</sup>

A week later, January 5, Jennings reported a bill to enable the people of Indiana Territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union. His accompanying report set out the Ordinance Line as the northern boundary line. The bill was read twice and referred to a Committee of the Whole House.<sup>16</sup> On March 29 the House sat in Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the bill. A variety of amendments were reported and successively agreed to, and the bill as amended was ordered engrossed for third reading.<sup>17</sup> On March 30 the engrossed bill was read the third time and passed by a vote of 108 ayes—3 nays; those voting adversely being Representatives Charles Goldsborough, of Maryland, and Joseph Lewis and John Randolph, of Virginia.<sup>18</sup>

Meantime, on January 2, the memorial of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of Indiana Territory had been communicated by the President to the Senate, and referred to a committee consisting of Jeremiah Morrow, of Ohio, William T. Barry, of Kentucky, and James Brown, of Louisiana.<sup>19</sup> Nothing seems to have been done, however, until

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<sup>13</sup>For a chronological summary of the procedure of Congress in regard to the Indiana Enabling Act, see Appendix I.

<sup>14</sup>An account of these proceedings, with the documents, is given in Kettleborough, *Constitution Making in Indiana*, Vol. I, pp. 65ff.

<sup>15</sup>*Annals*, 14 Congress, 1 session, col. 408.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, cols. 459-60.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 1293.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 1300.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 31.

the Senate received the House bill on March 30.<sup>20</sup> On April 1 the House bill was read once and passed to second reading.<sup>21</sup>

Up to the present writing, it has been impossible to obtain accurate information as to the text of the amendments which were passed by the House. We are hopeful that these may yet be discovered. Let us pause, therefore, to compare the text of the bill (H. R. 24) which was introduced in the Senate on April 1 with the report when the bill was originally introduced in the House. To our astonishment, we find that one of the amendments "agreed to," must have dealt with our northern boundary line, for this line is now described as "the forty-second degree of north latitude."<sup>22</sup>

On April 2 the bill was read a second time in the Senate and referred to the committee on the memorial of the Legislature of the Mississippi Territory.<sup>23</sup> On April 3 it was ordered on motion by Senator Jeremiah Morrow that the committee to whom the bill was referred be discharged and that it be referred to the committee appointed January 2 on the memorial of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of Indiana Territory.<sup>24</sup> This committee consisted of Senator Morrow, chairman, Senators William T. Barry and James Brown. The following day the bill was reported out of committee, with amendments.<sup>25</sup> One of the three amendments defined the boundaries as finally adopted. It provided that Indiana should be bounded

On the east by the meridian line which forms the western boundary of the State of Ohio; on the south by the river Ohio, from the mouth of the Great Miami river to the mouth of the river Wabash; on the west by a line drawn along the middle of the Wabash from its mouth, to a point where a due north line, drawn from the town of Vincennes, would last touch the northwestern shore of the said river; and from thence, by a due north line, until the same shall intersect an east and west line, drawn through a point ten miles north of the southern extreme

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<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 255.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 256.

<sup>22</sup>See Appendix II.

<sup>23</sup>*Annals*, 14 Congress, 1 session, col. 274. See Appendix I.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 278.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 282.

of Lake Michigan; on the north by the said east and west line, until the same shall intersect the first mentioned meridian line which forms the western boundary of the State of Ohio.<sup>26</sup>

On April 12 the Senate sat in Committee of the Whole to consider the bill with amendments and the "bill having been amended, the President reported it to the House, accordingly."<sup>27</sup> The next day, April 13, it was reported correctly engrossed, read a third time as amended, and passed.<sup>28</sup> On April 15 the amendments proposed by the Senate were read in the House and concurred in.<sup>29</sup>

It would be natural to suppose that in pushing this boundary line northward our forefathers were actuated by the desire to secure for Indiana a foothold on Lake Michigan, with its commercial advantages. How great a part our rivers played in settling these boundary lines may be seen from a statement of Senator William Hendricks, that "One object which Indiana had in going north of the east and west line, so often mentioned, was, that she might include the mouth of the St. Joseph river, and have a harbor there on the lake. In that she has been defeated."<sup>30</sup> As late as December, 1833 we find Representative John Ewing, of Indiana, pressing this point, with the introduction into the House of Representatives of a resolution asking:

That the Committee on the Territories be instructed to inquire into the expediency of extending the northern boundary of the State of Indiana, so as to embrace a slight tract of land (now attached to the Territory of Michigan) south of the St. Joseph's river, so as to render said river the boundary line from its junction with Lake Michigan, and allow concurrent jurisdiction to Indiana at its mouth.<sup>31</sup>

It has been impossible to determine what motive could have led Jonathan Jennings to willingly accept, as he seems to have done, the change to the boundary line of 42° north latitude. To

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<sup>26</sup>*Annals*, 14 Congress, 1 session, col. 1841.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 312.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 315.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 1373.

<sup>30</sup>Esarey, Logan (ed.), *Messages and Papers of Jonathan Jennings, Ratliff Boon, William Hendricks*, p. 432 (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, Indianapolis, 1924).

<sup>31</sup>*House Journal*, 23 Congress, 1 session, p. 106.

be sure, this provision would eventually have added a twenty-five mile strip instead of a ten mile strip. It must be concluded that Jennings had arranged the change for this very reason. If this supposition be correct, he must have had "inside" information, probably from Ohio citizens, as to the true location, for an examination of the maps of that period reveals the greatest ignorance of this area and places Lake Michigan far north of its present location, so that an acceptance of this line would have meant an apparent relinquishment of approximately a twenty-five mile strip of territory which Indiana could claim under the Ordinance Line. A very detailed map of this area was drawn by John Mitchell in 1755; it was "repeatedly reproduced, widely used and long deemed to be an authority."<sup>32</sup>

This locates the southern extreme of Lake Michigan at  $42^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude. We find, also, that such maps as the Vaugondy (1755), the Longchamps (1756), the Gössefeld (1784), the Thos. Jefferys (1762), the Mentelle (1806), the Faden (1785), the Hutchins (1778), disclose that this line was thought to be at least  $42^{\circ} 10'$  or higher, and some even place it north of  $42^{\circ} 30'$ . The map of the United States by John Cary, 1806, a section of which is reproduced in the plate facing page 298, shows the southern tip of Lake Michigan north of  $42^{\circ}$ . A map by Barker in 1805 shows a line drawn through the southern extremity of Lake Michigan and places it as high as  $42^{\circ} 30'$ . Maps of the United States made by Lewis in 1815 and by Vance as late as 1818 show the same error and picture Lake Michigan at least one half degree of latitude too far north.<sup>33</sup> Surely there was every reason and every opportunity for Jonathan Jennings to have obtained every advantage for Indiana,

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<sup>32</sup>Schlesinger, Arthur M., "Basis of the Ohio-Michigan Boundary Dispute," *Ohio Co-operative Topographic Survey*, Vol. I, p. 60. See also *Committee Reports*, 23 Congress, 1 session, No. 334, p. 41.

<sup>33</sup>Maps, Indiana State Library; *Committee Reports*, 23 Congress, 1 session, No. 334, p. 41. The official survey of the northern boundary of Indiana as finally decided upon and of the latitude of the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, made by E. P. Kendrick in October, 1827, shows the former to be  $41^{\circ} 47' 43''$ , and the latter  $41^{\circ} 38' 58''$ . Tracing by George A. Baker in Indiana State Library.

and although we have no proof, we are forced to believe that he had some first-hand information from trappers and hunters which formed the basis for the amendments passed in the House of Representatives.

Whether Senator Morrow, of Ohio, was more familiar with the maps of that age and believed that the line  $42^{\circ}$  was not sufficiently well determined to be a safe boundary, or whether he was selfishly interested in making sure that the Ordinance Line would be broken by the admission of Indiana, and thus strengthen Ohio in her controversy with Michigan, it is impossible to determine. We must think that he had a personal interest in our Enabling Act, for we have noted that he was instrumental in having the Senate bill, which was originally referred to his committee, transferred back to it when it had been accidentally referred, together with other bills, to a different committee.

At any rate, Michigan statesmen credit Jennings with being responsible for the change. Lucius Lyon even goes so far as to accuse our delegate of deliberately keeping the question in the background, saying:

Jonathan Jennings, then Delegate from the Territory of Indiana, was made chairman of the select committee to whom the subject of the admission of that State into the Union was referred; and being thus placed in a situation to exert a controlling influence, the committee seem to have paid about as much attention to the rights involved in the question which they were then considering, as was afterward given to similar rights, on the admission of Illinois, before spoken of. It is true that, on the 5th January, 1816, Mr. Jennings made a short report on the subject referred to the committee; but in that report the boundary described in the proviso of the fifth article of the ordinance of 1787 is kept wholly out of view, and not even alluded to.

The chairman, who doubtless wrote the report which he submitted to the House, seems to have been conscious that even to name this proviso of the ordinance would call too much attention to it, to suit the interests of Indiana, and therefore the whole subject was studiously avoided.<sup>84</sup>

In justice to Mr. Jennings it should be pointed out that this accusation by Mr. Lyon is unfair, for Jennings' report of January 5 could not have mentioned changes in the boundary

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<sup>84</sup>*Committee Reports*, 23 Congress, 1 session, No. 334, p. 20.



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[From John Cary's Map of the United States, 1806]



line that were not proposed until March 29. Claude Larzelere, of Michigan, who has made a study of the controversy, states:

The change met with no opposition in Congress. The only man interested was the delegate from Indiana and he was chairman of the committee that arranged the boundaries.<sup>35</sup>

On April 16 Jennings himself wrote a letter to his "Fellow Citizens," which was published in the Vincennes *Western Sun*. He makes no statement bearing directly on the boundary change, but refers to the Enabling Act as follows:

With regard to the grants and conditions contained in this act, the convention when met will be able to form a correct estimate. Allow me, however to state that they are at least as advantageous if not more so, than those granted to any other Territory on similar occasions.<sup>36</sup>

Two clauses in the Enabling Act passed by the House of Representatives (H. R. 24) may have significance as revelations of Jennings' idea that he had secured an advantageous boundary which needed express sanction in view of provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. In Section 2 it was provided, "that the convention hereinafter provided for, when formed, shall ratify the boundaries aforesaid, otherwise they shall be and remain as now prescribed by the ordinance for the government of the Territory north-west of the River Ohio." Section 4 provides that the constitution of Indiana shall be "not repugnant" to those articles of the ordinance of 1787 "which are declared to be irrevocable between the original States and the people and States of the Territory north-west of the River Ohio, excepting so much of said articles as relate to the boundaries of the States therein to be formed." These clauses show that the author of the bill considered the northern boundary specified in it to be something in the nature of an amendment to the Ordinance of 1787.

The change aroused no comment favorable or unfavorable on the part of Hoosiers. The Vincennes *Western Sun* of 1816 followed the discussion and progress of the bill, and published

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<sup>35</sup>Larzelere, "Boundaries of Michigan," p. 17.

<sup>36</sup>*Western Sun*, May 11, 1816.

it as passed, but without comment, possibly because there was little editorial comment on current topics in the press of that early day.<sup>37</sup> It has not been possible to find any words of commendation or criticism in the contemporaneous letters, papers, or speeches to which we have had access. As soon as the change came to be known, the Territorial Council of Michigan made a protest, but it was a mere matter of form. Two causes undoubtedly contributed to this lack of interest: first, Michigan had no territorial delegate in Congress at this time; and second, the area was entirely undeveloped. L. G. Stuart, in discussing this matter, points out the absence of commercial enterprise in the area. He says:

Indiana had no extensive canal system with an outlet within the territory claimed. She had no prospectively valuable town sites in the district. None of the members of the constitutional convention were incorporators or stockholders in railroads projected into the ten mile Indiana strip.<sup>38</sup>

The Enabling Act for Indiana had stipulated that the convention for drawing up a state government, when formed, should ratify the boundaries aforesaid, otherwise they were to remain "as . . . prescribed by the ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio."<sup>39</sup> We find that this convention, on Saturday, June 22, 1816, passed the resolution, which follows in part, presented by James Dill, chairman of the committee relative to the propositions of Congress and the boundaries of the state:<sup>40</sup>

*"Resolved, By the people of the state of Indiana,"* by their representatives in convention met at Corydon, on Monday the tenth day of June, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixteen, that we do, for ourselves and our posterity, agree, determine, declare, and ordain, that we will, and do hereby, accept the propositions of the Congress of the United States, as made and contained in their act of the nineteenth

<sup>37</sup>*Western Sun*, April 20, 27, and May 4, 1816.

<sup>38</sup>Stuart, L. G., "Verdict for Michigan. How the Upper Peninsula became a part of Michigan," *Michigan Historical Collections*, Vol. XXVII, p. 398.

<sup>39</sup>*Annals*, 14 Congress, 1 session, col. 1841.

<sup>40</sup>The Committee consisted of James Dill and Solomon Manwaring, of Dearborn; William H. Eads, of Franklin; James Smith, of Gibson; Daniel C. Lane, of Harrison.

day of April, eighteen hundred and sixteen, entitled, "an act to enable the people of Indiana territory to form a state government and constitution, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states:" And we do further, for ourselves and our posterity, hereby ratify, confirm and establish, the boundaries of the said state of Indiana, as fixed, prescribed, laid down, and established, in the Act of Congress aforesaid.<sup>41</sup>

It is of interest to note, as has been pointed out, that Indiana had power to refuse to ratify these boundaries and demand the entire middle third of the Northwest Territory and that Congress had the power to annex this north central area to Indiana any time before Michigan was admitted to the Union.<sup>42</sup>

The resolution admitting Indiana to statehood passed the Senate on December 6, 1816 and the House on December 9. It was signed by the President on December 11, 1816. It declared that the people of Indiana had conformed with the "principles of the articles of compact between the original States and the people and States to be formed in the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio."<sup>43</sup>

On March 2, 1827 the President was authorized "to ascertain and designate the northern boundary of the state of Indiana," and in pursuance of this act, the survey of 1827 was officially made.<sup>44</sup> The exact latitude of the line was still unknown, for we find Congress asking for this line to be determined in 1828, and again in 1832.<sup>45</sup>

Illinois followed Indiana into statehood in 1818, with a boundary sixty miles north of the Ordinance Line, and extending to 42° 30' north latitude. This added 8,500 square miles of territory to her dominion. At this time all the northern land was organized as Michigan Territory.

As we have before stated, Michigan made a formal protest against the infringement of her southern boundary by Indiana

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<sup>41</sup>*Journal of the Convention of the Indiana Territory*, pp. 49-50 (Louisville, 1816).

<sup>42</sup>*Senate Documents*, 24 Congress, 1 session, No. 211, pp. 10-11.

<sup>43</sup>*Annals*, 14 Congress, 2 session, col. 1348.

<sup>44</sup>Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Papers of Jennings, Boon, Hendricks*, p. 430.

<sup>45</sup>*Appeal by the Convention of Michigan*, pp. 23-24.



and Ohio. A memorial was addressed to Congress, January 3, 1818; in reviewing the subject the memorial states:

Your memorialists conceive it their duty, vested as they are with the temporary legislative power of this territory, to submit this subject to the consideration of Congress. They do not presume to request that any particular course may be pursued in relation to it. They are anxious that the just rights of the people of this territory may not be forfeited through their neglect, *and that it may not be hereafter supposed they have acquiesced* in the changes which have been, and which are proposed to be made in its boundaries. To some future period, when the people of this country can be heard by their own Representatives in the Legislature of the Union, they leave the further discussion and final decision of these questions, which will vitally affect their political importance.<sup>46</sup>

For more than ten years the boundary dispute between Indiana and Michigan seems to have received no attention on the part of either. Then we note that Lucius Lyon, territorial delegate from Michigan, asked Congress not only "to resist all attempts at further encroachment, but also to restore to her all the territory so solemnly guarantied to her by that irrepealable law."<sup>47</sup> Governor Lewis Cass, in his message of January, 1831 stated:

Indiana asserts and exercises jurisdiction over a tract of country, ten miles north of our southern boundary, as defined in that irrepealable law, which gave and guarantees to us our political existence, and extending from Lake Michigan east, along the whole northern frontier of that state. That this claim will eventually be contested on the part of this Territory, or of the State, which must soon be established here, there is no doubt. And as we have every confidence in the justice of our cause, we may reasonably look forward to a favorable decision. As however the rights of the parties rest upon conflicting acts of Congress, and as Indiana has possession of the tract in question, a prudent regard to circumstances will probably dictate a postponement of the subject, until we shall be admitted to a participation in the council of the tribunal, by which it must be determined.<sup>48</sup>

The next official action taken by the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan, was the passage of an act approved December 26, 1834. This act provided for the appointment of three commissioners by the governor of the Territory of Mich-

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<sup>46</sup>*Appeal by the Convention of Michigan*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>47</sup>*Committee Reports*, 23 Congress, 1 session, No. 334, p. 29.

<sup>48</sup>Fuller, George N. (ed.), *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, Vol. I, p. 60 (Lansing, 1925).

igan, "to enter into a negotiation with such commissioners as may be appointed on the part of the states of Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois, or with the Governors of those states, to adjust and finally settle the northern boundary of the said states."<sup>49</sup> A copy of this act was evidently sent to the governors of the three states mentioned. A message from Governor Lucas to the legislature of Ohio acknowledged the receipt of the communication, and advised the legislature that Michigan had not been admitted to the Union, that Congress alone had the power to determine the boundaries of territories; hence such a commission as was proposed by Michigan would be without power to act.<sup>50</sup> A memorial of the Legislative Council of Michigan, adopted March 23, 1835, expressly stated:

We do not, at this time, present for consideration our claims connected with the boundaries of Indiana and Illinois. They will be brought forward at a future day, and under different circumstances. But those cases furnish no parallel for the proceedings of the state of Ohio. Congress, by its own authority, enlarged their territorial extent. We contend that such enlargement was invalid, because conflicting with the irrevocable articles of compact. But those states hold the territory alluded to under the acts admitting them into the union. They have always possessed jurisdiction over the country, and if we are ever to obtain possession of it, it must be by judicial decision, or by commissioners already, or to be hereafter, appointed. But Ohio claims to do by her own authority what Congress has done for Indiana and Illinois.<sup>51</sup>

Michigan based her claim to the disputed area on her belief that the Ordinance Line was an immovable boundary. She asserted that it had been established by the Ordinance of 1787, and later confirmed by the Enabling Act for Ohio, by the transfer of the northern part of the remaining territory to Indiana Territory and finally by the act establishing her own Territory, in each of which cases this Ordinance Line was expressly used by Congress as a boundary line. She further asserted that repeated attempts on the part of Ohio had failed to induce Congress to change the line. In regard to Indiana

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<sup>49</sup>*Appeal by the Convention of Michigan*, pp. 145-46. See Appendix III.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 146-48.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 110-11.

she claimed that since this Enabling Act was passed in controversy to the above mentioned acts it must be null and void.

Whatever the intention of the men in Congress may have been in 1787, the text of the Ordinance itself offered a technicality for setting it aside. It contains the provision: "*If Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan.*"<sup>52</sup> Our own Senator William Hendricks ably pointed out in his debates in Congress that: "Congress is indeed prohibited from coming, with the northern boundaries of these three states, south of this east and west line, but she may go as far north of that line as shall be deemed expedient, even to the boundary of the United States."<sup>53</sup>

Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio, likewise asserted: "If the phrase had been, 'shall have authority to form one or two States *of* that part of said territory,' the word *of*, in the same context, would have been a denial of *all* discretion over the limits of the State or States to be formed. In the latter case, the State or States must have embraced the *whole* country, to satisfy the terms used."<sup>54</sup> Representative John M. Clayton, in his report to Congress, as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, March 1, 1836, agreed with this view, and stated emphatically: "A power to form one 'or two States *in a territory*' is not to be restricted, without the grossest violence to all the rules of construction, to a mere power to form one or two States *out of* that territory."<sup>55</sup>

Michigan claimed also that the Ordinance was a compact, which could be changed only by common consent, and that she had never given her consent to such a change. John Fiske has asserted that the Ordinance of 1787 was no more nor less than

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<sup>52</sup>Macdonald, *Documentary Source Book*, pp. 215-16. The italics are the author's.

<sup>53</sup>Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Papers of Jennings, Boon, Hendricks*, p. 432.

<sup>54</sup>*Committee Reports*, 23 Congress, 1 session, No. 334, p. 55.

<sup>55</sup>*Senate Documents*, 24 Congress, 1 session, No. 211, p. 6.

any other act of Congress, because there was no second party to it; it was not ratified by the states.<sup>56</sup> It was amended by the next ensuing Congress, August 7, 1789, in the matter of the appointment of territorial officials.<sup>57</sup> The Ordinance provided for its change by common consent, which must have meant either the consent of our representatives in Congress or the consent of the majority of the people dwelling in the area involved. In either case, consent was undoubtedly secured when the people of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois ratified their state constitutions providing boundaries for these states other than the Ordinance Line.<sup>58</sup> Senator John Tipton is credited with having written:

This was a proposition made by the United States in Congress assembled, to the people of Indiana and Illinois, and accepted by the people of these new states in their highest attribute of sovereignty, their constitution-making capacity. Hence no power other than the people themselves can abrogate the compact thus entered into.<sup>59</sup>

Although this article is merely signed "Peace and Union," the belief that Tipton was the author is borne out by a letter from Thomas Fitzgerald, of St. Joseph, Michigan, dated April 24, 1835, to John Tipton, to whom the latter had sent a copy of the paper.<sup>60</sup>

Michigan founded her claim, also, on the act of Congress establishing her territorial boundaries in 1805, in accordance with which she had organized and held jurisdiction over part of the disputed territory.

Ohio, on the other hand, asserted that she had been admitted with a proviso for the change in her boundary, but we should point out that this change, as before stated, was to be effected "with the assent of the Congress of the United States." Ohio was then concerned to ascertain the exact location of the mouth

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<sup>56</sup>Fiske, John, *The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789*, pp. 206-7 (Riverside Press, 1888).

<sup>57</sup>*Annals*, 1 Congress, col. 2159.

<sup>58</sup>The census of 1830 showed Michigan's population to be 31,639, while the combined population of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois was 1,438,379.

<sup>59</sup>*Logansport Canal Telegraph*, April 4, 1835.

<sup>60</sup>Tipton Papers, Indiana State Library.



of the Maumee River in relation to the Ordinance Line and, if necessary, to secure the assent of Congress to the change. Undoubtedly the spirited controversy with Ohio over the possession of the mouth of the Maumee River prevented Michigan from pressing her claim against Indiana. This quarrel with Ohio is designated in history as the "Toledo War," or, by the people of Michigan, as "Governor Lucas' War."

In 1812 Congress gave authority for an official survey of the Ordinance Line. Because of the war with England, the survey was not undertaken until 1817, when a surveyor marked the so-called Harris Line. It was soon discovered that William Harris, instead of marking the Ordinance Line, had marked the line Ohio claimed as her northern boundary. A protest from Michigan compelled the President to order a second survey, which has borne the name of the Fulton Line, in accordance with the Ordinance Line; this established the fact that the mouth of the Maumee River lay north of the said Ordinance Line, and in Michigan Territory.

From this date forward the annals of Congress are filled with repeated attempts to have Congress approve the so-called Harris line as the official boundary of the state of Ohio, but each such attempt failed. Attorney General Benjamin F. Butler advised President Jackson that while Congress, in receiving Ohio, implicitly assented to the boundary proviso, the assent of Congress was necessary to the change, and until Congress did give assent, it was his duty to enforce the laws—in short to take the side of Michigan.<sup>61</sup> John Quincy Adams said:

Never in the course of my life have I known a controversy of which all the right was so clear on one side, and all the power so overwhelmingly on the other; never a case where the temptation was so intense to take the strongest side, and the duty of taking the weakest was so thankless.<sup>62</sup>

Citizens of Indiana early in the struggle espoused the cause of Michigan. John Tipton is credited with the statement that

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<sup>61</sup>*Senate Documents*, 24 Congress, 1 session, No. 6, pp. 4-13.

<sup>62</sup>Cooley, Thomas M., *Michigan, a History of Governments*, p. 219 (New York, 1905).



this matter was a question of concern to all states because of the physical strength of Ohio.

If the strong are suffered to beat down the weak by the strong arm of force, what guarantee have the other territories of the United States that the neighboring states may not desire a portion, or all, of their territory? . . . there are still wire-workers behind the curtain. It is believed that a set of heartless speculators, who own property on Maumee Bay, stimulate and urge this matter on their public men.<sup>63</sup>

Meantime Michigan was eagerly demanding her enabling act, desiring the increased strength this would give her in Congress. In 1834 and again in 1835 her petitions fell on deaf ears; a census revealed her population to be 87,273, or more than 27,000 in excess of the required number.<sup>64</sup> The people of Michigan were angered because their demands were not recognized, and led by their vigorous "Boy Governor," Stevens T. Mason, without any enabling act, called a constitutional convention in May, 1835, and a constitution, which has been called "almost a Declaration of Independence," was formed; this constitution was adopted by the people in the following October, and all state officers elected or appointed, and a Congressman elected. The legislature met in November, inaugurated Mason as governor, and chose their United States senators.<sup>65</sup> Here we have the interesting example of a fully formed state existing without the Union from November 2, 1835 to January 26, 1837. In framing their constitution they adhered to the original Ordinance Line, which of course threatened the northern boundaries of Indiana and Illinois as well as Ohio and forced the congressmen of these states to join to defeat Michigan.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>*Logansport Canal Telegraph*, April 4, 1835. See *ante*, p. 305.

<sup>64</sup>Utley, Henry M., and Byron M. Cutcheon, *Michigan As a Province, Territory and State*, Vol. II, p. 337 (New York, 1906).

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 319-23.

<sup>66</sup>Soule, Annah May, "The Southern and Western Boundaries of Michigan," *Michigan Historical Collections*, Vol. XXVII, p. 357 (Lansing, 1897), reprinted in part in *Ohio Co-operative Topographic Survey*, Vol. I, pp. 71-112, under title, "The Controversy over the Ohio-Michigan Boundary."

By this time there was a wider appreciation of the value of this area. Governor Noah Noble, of Indiana, in his message of 1834 asserted:

Were it possible to recognize this claim, Indiana would lose a district ten miles wide, extending entirely across the northern part of the State, including one of the fairest and most desirable portions of her territory, and be entirely excluded from any access to the Lake, except through a foreign jurisdiction.

This claim can never be acceded to by Indiana, and it is highly important that the question should be brought to an early decision.<sup>67</sup>

Senator John Tipton, when debating the admission of Michigan in Congress on March 30, 1836, stated: "Indiana never will surrender what Michigan claims to any power on earth." He admitted the rights of Michigan as to her claim with Ohio, but continued, "she should not, in pursuance of those rights, violate the rights of others. She has no right to the ten miles claimed by her Constitution from Indiana; and if that claim continues to be urged, I am against her."<sup>68</sup> For his attitude on the Michigan question, Tipton was commended by Calvin Fletcher in a letter dated January 20, 1836.<sup>69</sup>

We find that our Indiana legislature realized the seriousness of the situation, and Samuel Bigger, chairman of the select committee to which the matter was referred, made a report, February 7, 1835, in which he referred to the growing importance of the area: "A portion of the ten miles in question, on account of the inducements held out for emigration, the excellence of the country and the anticipated advantages of a prompt and constant market on the lake, has within a few years received an increase of population almost without a parallel"; again he speaks of it as "embracing a most fertile tract of country, and that part of Lake Michigan which we have been taught to prize as all important to the trade, commerce and agricultural interests of the northern part of the state." He

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<sup>67</sup>Indiana, *House Journal*, 1834-35, p. 16 (Indianapolis, 1834).

<sup>68</sup>*Logansport Canal Telegraph*, May 7, 1836; the speech here quoted appears in the *Congressional Debates*, 24 Congress, 1 session, cols. 1008-11.

<sup>69</sup>Tipton Papers, Indiana State Library.

further states that "great and lasting injury would be done the state of Indiana, by stripping her of the territory claimed by Michigan. Her whole northern trade and commercial interests, so far as the same is connected with the possession of the lake, would be placed in the power of a strange jurisdiction."<sup>70</sup>

A resolution was adopted, paragraph one of which stated:

*Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our representatives requested, to resist the establishment of the southern boundary of Michigan on a line drawn east and west from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan; and also that they insist upon the present northern boundary of Indiana, as prescribed in the act of Congress of 1816, providing for her admission into the Union.*<sup>71</sup>

In January, 1836 Samuel Bigger prepared another joint resolution, which was adopted and transmitted to Congress on the twentieth of that month. This resolution took a further step, instructing our senators and representatives to oppose the admission of the people of Michigan as a state, "unless they, by their constitution, shall acknowledge the present northern boundary of Indiana."<sup>72</sup>

In pursuance of this changed sentiment, Senator Hendricks opposed the seating of the senators from Michigan in December, 1835;<sup>73</sup> in March, 1836 Lucius Lyon wrote to his fellow citizens in Michigan that Senators Hendricks and Tipton had declared they would not vote for any bill that did not provide for a change of the Michigan constitution.<sup>74</sup>

Ohio, meantime, had become thoroughly aroused over the failure of Congress to give the required assent to her boundary proviso, and the legislature promptly passed a bill which provided for the extension of her jurisdiction over the contiguous counties in the disputed area, and for the re-marking of the Harris Line, with an appropriation for the enforcement of the

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<sup>70</sup>*Laws of Indiana*, local, 1834-35, p. 260.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 262.

<sup>72</sup>*Senate Documents*, 24 Congress, 1 session, No. 72.

<sup>73</sup>*Congressional Debates*, 24 Congress, 1 session, cols. 38-39.

<sup>74</sup>"Letters of Lucius Lyon," *Michigan Historical Collections*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 492-93.

Act.<sup>75</sup> The summer of 1835 proved an eventful one for Michigan and Ohio. Governor Lucas, of Ohio, with his staff, boundary commissioners, General Bell, and some six hundred Ohio militia marched to the border line. Governor Mason, of Michigan, with General Brown and nearly one thousand Michigan militia occupied Toledo. At this juncture, two commissioners, Richard Rush and B. C. Howard, sent by President Jackson, arrived, and tried to effect a compromise. Their proposals, which were favorable to Ohio, were accepted by Governor Lucas, but rejected by Governor Mason, who hoped to see Michigan's congressmen seated at the next session and in a position to enforce their claims; by mutual consent the militias of both states were dismissed. In July, 1835, however, Governor Lucas repeated his attempt to re-mark the Harris Line, but his surveyors were promptly seized by Michigan officials.

President Jackson attempted to avert a crisis by removing the impulsive Governor Mason, September 11; he appointed John S. Horner, of Virginia, to succeed him, but the people of Michigan adhered to their "Boy Governor." Horner arrived at Detroit September 19 and remained there eight months, but was powerless. Here again we have another interesting situation, a governor of a territory, appointed by the President, and a governor of an unrecognized state, elected by the people.

Governor Lucas finally succeeded in exercising jurisdiction for his state by holding a session of court in the outskirts of Toledo, with an escort of twenty armed men, at three o'clock in the morning of September 7, 1835, in spite of the fact that Michigan militia occupied the heart of the city in an effort to prevent it; Lucas, apparently satisfied with his accomplishment, withdrew his forces; the second episode of the "Toledo War" came to a bloodless end.

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<sup>75</sup>For events in the history of Ohio and Michigan connected with this boundary controversy and the admission of Michigan into the Union, consult Soule, "The Southern and Western Boundaries of Michigan," *Michigan Historical Collections*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 346-90; Cooley, *Michigan, a History of Governments*; Utley and Cutcheon, *Michigan As a Province, Territory and State*, Vol. II, especially pp. 317ff.

It was realized that the Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute could not be settled ultimately by the states themselves, but only by Congress. A presidential election was near. Politically, Ohio was doubtful, and with her now stood Indiana and Illinois, controlling some thirty-nine electoral votes. Admission of Michigan was most desirable; on June 15, 1836, therefore, a compromise bill was passed by Congress giving Ohio the disputed territory, and offering Michigan the Northern Peninsula. A convention of delegates, elected by the people of Michigan, at the call of the Governor, rejected the compromise. All state officials and the congressmen who had been elected, wished to take office, however, and Michigan wished to have her share in the distribution of five per cent of public moneys soon to be made by the federal government. Thus pressure was brought to bear on all sides; upon the Governor's refusal to call a second convention, the Democrats took matters into their own hands and called for the election of delegates to a second convention, a procedure in which the Whigs refused to take any part. This convention, made up almost entirely of members of the Democratic party, held what was termed by opponents the "frost-bitten convention," and accepted the compromise bill; according to Hinsdale it was an entirely extralegal group,

Having no more authority to do so than the crew of a Detroit schooner or a lumberman's camp in the Valley of the Grand River. . . . Most astounding of all, the two Houses of Congress, by large majorities, passed an act . . . accepting this convention as meeting the requirements of the act of admission, and so declared Michigan one of the United States.<sup>76</sup>

This act admitting Michigan, passed in 1836, describes that state as bounded on the south by Ohio and Indiana.<sup>77</sup>

Had Michigan not accepted the compromise bill and settled the northern boundary of Indiana, what would have been the outcome? Inasmuch as the federal constitution provides that no state may be erected within the jurisdiction of any other

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<sup>76</sup>Hinsdale, Burke A., *The Old Northwest with a view of the thirteen colonies as constituted by the Royal charters*, p. 335 (New York, 1899).

<sup>77</sup>*Acts of Congress*, 24 Congress, 1 session, pp. 84-85.



state, the controversy had to be disposed of before Michigan could be admitted. Had her dispute centered against Indiana, she would have asserted prior claim because the act of Congress giving Michigan Territory the disputed strip antedated the gift to Indiana by eleven years. Against this claim Indiana would have contended that the later act was the more binding, because instead of being a mere act for the government of a territory, it was a compact made with a sovereign state and ratified by the citizens of that state and could be broken only by the consent of the citizens with whom the said compact had been made. Furthermore Indiana had had undisputed possession of the area since her admission. A close study of all the references of Michigan statesmen as quoted above leads one to believe that they realized fully that the ultimate verdict would undoubtedly have been rendered in favor of Indiana.

Indiana little knew how valuable this ten mile strip would be in her future development. As late as 1821, when John Tipton made the official survey of our western boundary, he described in detail the low sandy hills of the Lake Michigan region, and continued: "immediately behind thos[e] hill[s] the country falls off into pond[s] and marshes that can never admit of settlement nor never will be of much service to our State."<sup>78</sup> Yet this area is destined to be a part of the greatest industrial center in the world. In it, in recent years, have been constructed great units of the Standard, the Roxana, and the Sinclair Oil Companies, the Universal Portland Cement Plant, the United States Steel Company, and numberless smaller steel mills which would not have chosen this location but for the lake harbor. The original boundary would have entered the lake within the city of Gary, and had the Ordinance Line been held inviolable, that city, as now located, would have been under the jurisdiction of the three states, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin. We would have lost the beautiful farming area and the populous district including Elkhart, South Bend, Mishawaka, Lagrange,

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<sup>78</sup>Journal of John Tipton, commissioner on the part of Indiana for marking the Illinois-Indiana boundary line, p. 34. Copy by George Pence, in Indiana State Library.

and Angola. The state prison would not have been located at Michigan City. We would have been deprived of the attractive lake region in our northeastern corner, and Indiana would never have possessed the Dunes or Pokagon state parks. Fortunate, indeed, was Indiana, that our forefathers were far-sighted enough to secure for us approximately forty-one miles of frontage on beautiful Lake Michigan and provide space within her confines for this great industrial center. Fortunate, indeed, is Indiana, that the present generation has been far-sighted enough to establish the Indiana Dunes Park, thus preserving three miles of this lake frontage and there establishing one of the most inspiring playgrounds in the world for the use and enjoyment of her citizens throughout all the generations that are to come.

## APPENDIX I

PROCEDURE in regard to the Indiana Enabling Act as it appears in the *Annals*, 14 Congress, 1 session.

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

December 28, 1815

Jennings presented petition of Legislature of Indiana Territory praying that said territory might be erected into a state government. Referred to Jennings, McKee, Henderson, Reed, and Moffit. Col. 408.

January 5, 1816

The above mentioned committee reported. (Report given col. 460). Jennings reported a bill to enable people of Indiana Territory to form a constitution and state government and for admission of such state into the Union. Read twice and "committed to a Committee of Whole to-morrow." The report stated that the northern boundary of Indiana should touch the southern extreme of Lake Michigan. Col. 459-60.

March 29, 1816

House in committee of whole. Variety of amendments received. Amendments reported were successively agreed to and the bill, as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading. Col. 1293.

March 30, 1816

Engrossed bill read the third time and passed. 108—3. Nays, Goldsborough, Maryland; Lewis, Virginia; Randolph, Virginia. Col. 1300.

April 13, 1816

Message from Senate that Senate had passed bill, and asking concurrence of House in amendments. Col. 1367.

April 15, 1816

Amendments proposed by Senate were read and concurred in by House. Col. 1373.

## SENATE

January 2, 1816

Memorial of Legislative Council and House of Representatives of Indiana Territory communicated by President to Senate; referred to committee: Morrow, chairman. Col. 31.

March 30, 1816

Senate received word that House had passed bill. Col. 225.

April 1, 1816

The eleven bills last brought up for concurrence were read and severally passed to second reading. Col. 256.

April 2, 1816

The bill was read second time and referred to Committee on the memorial of the legislature of the Mississippi Territory. Col. 274.

April 2, 1816

Moved that said committee (on admission of Indiana and Mississippi Territories) ascertain and report number of inhabitants in said territories. Col. 276.

April 3, 1816

Ordered on motion by Morrow that committee to whom bill was referred be discharged and that it be referred to committee appointed January 2 on the memorial of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of Indiana Territory. Col. 278.

April 4, 1816

Morrow reports from committee the bill with amendments and certified statement of census of Indiana Territory. Col. 282.

April 12, 1816

Senate in committee of whole considers bill together with amendments reported by committee and the bill having been amended, the President reported it to the Senate. Col. 312.

April 13, 1816

Amendments to the bill having been reported by the committee correctly engrossed, the bill was read a third time as amended. "Resolved, That this bill pass with amendments." Col. 315.

## APPENDIX II

THE ENABLING ACT as it first passed the House of Representatives and was sent to the Senate for concurrence.

H. R. No. 24

In Senate of the United States

April 1, 1816.

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Read, and passed to the second reading.

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### AN ACT

To enable the people of the Indiana Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States.

\* \* \* \* \*

1 Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the said State  
2 shall consist of all the Territory included within the fol-  
3 lowing boundaries, to wit: bounded on the east by the  
4 western line of the State of Ohio, from the forty-second  
5 degree of north latitude to the mouth of the Great Miami  
6 River; on the south, by the River Ohio, from the mouth  
7 of the Great Miami River, to the mouth of the River  
8 Wabash; on the west, by the Wabash River, from its  
9 mouth, to the town of Vincennes, and from thence by the  
10 meanders of the said River Wabash, to a point where a  
11 due north line, drawn from the said town of Vincennes,  
12 would last touch the north-western shore of the said river;  
13 from thence, by a due north line, until it shall intersect a  
14 due east and west line, which shall touch the forty-second  
15 degree of north latitude; and on the north by the forty-  
16 second degree of north latitude. Provided, that the con-  
17 vention hereinafter provided for, when formed, shall  
18 ratify the boundaries aforesaid, otherwise they shall be  
19 and remain as now prescribed by the ordinance for the  
government of the Territory north-west of the River



Ohio. Provided also that the said State shall have concurrent jurisdiction on the river Wabash with the State to be formed west thereof so far as the said river shall form a common boundary to both.

\* \* \* \* \*

1 Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That the members of  
2 the convention thus duly elected, be, and they are hereby  
3 authorized to meet at the seat of the government of the  
4 said Territory, on the second Monday of June next, which  
5 convention, when met, shall first determine by a majority  
6 of the whole number elected, whether it be, or be not  
7 expedient at that time, to form a constitution and State  
8 government for the people within the said Territory, and  
9 if it be determined to be expedient, the convention shall be,  
10 and hereby are authorized to form a constitution and State  
11 government; or if it be deemed more expedient, the said  
12 convention shall provide by ordinance for electing repre-  
13 sentatives to form a constitution or frame of government;  
14 which said representatives shall be chosen in such manner,  
15 and in such proportion, and shall meet at such time and  
16 place, as shall be prescribed by the said ordinance, and  
17 shall then form for the people of said Territory, a consti-  
18 tution and State government: Provided, That the same,  
19 whenever formed, shall be republican, and not repugnant  
20 to those articles of the ordinance of the thirteenth of July,  
21 one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, which are  
22 declared to be irrevocable between the original States and  
23 the people and States of the Territory north-west of the  
River Ohio, excepting so much of said articles as relate  
to the boundaries of the States therein to be formed.

## APPENDIX III

AN ACT to provide for the appointment of commissioners to adjust the boundary between the state or states to be formed north of a line running east and west through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan and the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan*, That there shall be three commissioners appointed by the Governor of the Territory of Michigan, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, whose duty it shall be to enter into a negotiation with such commissioners as may be appointed on the part of the states of Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois, or with the Governors of those states, to adjust and finally settle the northern boundary of the said states or either of them. It shall be the duty of the said commissioners, or a majority of them, to make a report of their proceedings to the legislature or legislatures of the state or states to be formed north of the aforesaid line; and if said boundary line shall be ascertained or agreed upon by the said commissioners, it shall become the fixed and established boundary between such of the said states as shall consent and agree to the same, by the ratification of the proceedings of the said commissioners by their legislatures respectively, so soon as their consent shall be given.

SEC. 2. And the said commissioners to be appointed on the part of Michigan shall receive such compensation for their services as may be allowed them by law.

Approved, December 26, 1834.

*Appeal by the Convention of Michigan, to the People of the United States; with other Documents in relation to the Boundary Question between Michigan and Ohio*, pp. 145-46 (Detroit, 1835).

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EVANSVILLE'S CHANNELS OF  
TRADE AND THE  
SECESSION MOVEMENT  
1850 - 1865

*By*  
DANIEL W. SNEPP

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## THE BEGINNINGS OF EVANSVILLE

The environment of Evansville in the fifties was rich in natural resources. The German farmers residing on the fertile farms of Vanderburg and adjoining counties brought to the city markets the products of their industry and took home with them commodities bought from the local merchants. These farms produced chiefly grain, garden truck, and live stock; however, valuable forests flourished in close proximity to the city. Poplar, pine, oak, black and white walnut, hickory, ash, elm, maple, cedar, gum, beech, and many other varieties useful in their application to various kinds of manufacturing were found in different portions of this and adjoining states convenient to Evansville. Any one coming directly south from the central part of Indiana to the Ohio River and going thence due westward to the Mississippi River, or traversing the valleys of the Green and Tennessee rivers could readily have conceived the extent of this timber section and the great opportunities of Evansville as a timber and furniture manufacturing center.<sup>1</sup>

Evansville was in the very heart of the coal producing section of the central states. The coal measures of Indiana alone in the late sixties covered an area of six thousand five hundred square miles and extended from Warren County on the north to the Ohio River on the south, a distance of one hundred fifty miles. This coal was all bituminous and was divisible into three well marked varieties, namely: coking, block, and cannel coal.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Robert, Charles E., *Evansville: Her Commerce and Manufactures*, p. 37 (Evansville, 1874).

<sup>2</sup>*ibid.*, p. 32.

Iron ore was discovered at Adria, on the Green River, sixty miles south of Evansville. This, however, has never proved of any commercial consequence.

The founder of the settlement out of which the city of Evansville developed was Hugh McGary, son of the well known Kentucky pioneer and Indian fighter of the same name. In 1812 he entered from the government land now in the business district. Robert M. Evans, originally from Virginia, took the lead in the organization of Vanderburg County in 1818 and in the location of the county seat the same year at Evansville.<sup>3</sup> The first sale of lots in the town was advertised for May 27 and 28, 1818.<sup>4</sup> A branch of the old State Bank of Indiana was established at Evansville in 1834.<sup>5</sup> In 1838 the town had a population of 1,228; the white males numbered 567, white females 621, colored males 24 and colored females 16. On January 29, 1847 the town became a city. It then covered an area of 280 acres, had a population of 4,000, and a property valuation (personal and real estate) of \$901,304.

Three years later (1850) Evansville had a population of 5,105, and was a thriving little center with ten grist and saw mills, four of which were driven by water; one hundred stores; three printing establishments, each issuing a daily paper; fifteen lawyers, sixteen physicians, and thirteen preachers; and many mechanics, factory hands, and miners. During the same year six hundred thousand bushels of corn, one hundred thousand bushels of oats, one thousand five hundred tons of hay, one million five hundred thousand pounds of pork and bacon, to

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<sup>3</sup>Esarey, Logan, *History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1922, also an Account of Vanderburg County from its Organization*, in three volumes, Vol. III, pp. 21ff. (Dayton, Ohio, 1922). Volume III is the *Account of Vanderburg County from its Organization*; it is edited by John E. Iglehart, who himself contributes the account of "Early Evansville." This form of Esarey's *History of Indiana*, etc., gives the history of the state in the first two volumes; a third, and occasionally a fourth volume is devoted to historical and biographical sketches of this or that county in the state, thus varying as to title, author and contents in the sets sold in the different counties.

<sup>4</sup>Gilbert, Frank M., *History of the City of Evansville and Vanderburg County, Indiana*, Vol. I, illustration opposite p. 24 (Chicago, 1910).

<sup>5</sup>Robert, *Evansville: Her Commerce and Manufactures*, p. 459.



say nothing of large quantities of tobacco, wheat, and potatoes, found their way from Evansville to the markets of the Southern States *via* the Green, Tennessee, Cumberland, and Mississippi rivers.<sup>6</sup>

In 1856 Evansville was made a port of entry and a United States customs house was established here. This gave the city a prominent place as a shipping point on the Ohio River.

There were two settlements planted near each other on a horseshoe bend of the river. They were united in 1857. Evansville, named after Robert M. Evans, occupied the district from the present Division Street eastward. Lamasco was laid out by John and William Law, a Mr. MacCall, or Macall, and a Mr. Scott. The name was formed by the "La" in Law, the "Ma" in MacCall and the "Sco" in Scott. This settlement occupied that portion of the present Evansville extending from Division Street to Pigeon Creek. It was quite natural that these two settlements should merge, for their social and business interests were identical, and union would be advantageous to both. Incorporating the two settlements into one city progressed well until the time came for naming the newly created unity. A great number of citizens, including the Shanklin brothers, editors of the *Courier*, contended that the name should be Lamasco rather than Evansville because the term was more euphonic; the word "ville," they said, indicated village, hence the real size and importance of the city would be underrated and misconstrued by those who did not know. Furthermore, they argued, there were many Evansvilles in the country, one of which was in Illinois, and the mails would probably be confused and missent. Such possibilities could be eliminated by naming the new city Lamasco. Despite these arguments by the opposition, the stationery of the city officials was stamped "Evansville," which became and remained the name of the city.<sup>7</sup>

Under the new organization the city took on fresh life.

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<sup>6</sup>*History of Vanderburgh County*, p. 130 (Brant and Fuller, Madison, Wisconsin, 1889).

<sup>7</sup>Gilbert, *History of Evansville and Vanderburg County*, Vol. I, p. 134.

While numerous cities throughout the country suffered greatly from the financial and industrial crisis of 1857, Evansville weathered the storm with relatively few business failures. The business men of the city, on the whole, were conservative. A large per cent. of them were of German extraction and these were not venturesome. They were not the kind of men one would expect to make speculations in business, but when viewed over a period of years, their progress, although slow, was certain. At this time the population of the city was twelve thousand two hundred sixty-two.

In 1858 Evansville's distilleries and a few of the largest factories consumed three hundred fifty thousand tons of coal, as much as was consumed the same year by the city of Indianapolis.

Evansville was favorably situated upon the Ohio River, some of whose tributaries reached far into the southern states, the natural outlet for whose products was over these rivers. The Green River, which empties into the Ohio nine miles above the city, was used throughout the year for steamboats and other river craft as far as Bowling Green, a distance of two hundred miles. The Wabash River, joining the Ohio sixty miles below Evansville, could be used as a means of transportation at favorable periods of the year for over two hundred miles to the north. The Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, which flow into the Ohio at respective distances of one hundred forty and one hundred fifty miles below the city, reached far into the heart of the cotton belt and furnished splendid avenues on which the products from these states were carried to the Ohio River.<sup>8</sup> There was no rival city near at hand to compete with or overshadow the city's growth; consequently Evansville reaped the benefit of a large part of this southern trade. This interchange of business and commercial relationship with the South tended to cause Evansville to look south rather than north. Ties of blood, stronger perhaps than those of commerce, also united the city with the South.

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<sup>8</sup>Foster, John W., *Annual Report of the Board of Trade for Evansville in 1867*, p. 43 (Evansville, 1868).

## EARLY PACKET LINES

When one stands on the bank of the Ohio River at Evansville and observes the steamboats of the present day loading and unloading, he can have no conception of the magnitude of commerce carried by the steamboats in those days before the advent of the railroads. Neither can he understand the important place which Evansville occupied on the western waters as a receiving and distributing center during the golden age of steamboat traffic. Then it was not an unusual occurrence for the wharf from Locust to Division Streets to be absolutely blocked with all kinds of freight. There would be hundreds of bales of cotton, a great quantity of sugar, coffee, molasses, and fruit brought by the southern boats to go north; hundreds of hogsheads of tobacco brought in from Kentucky and from the Indiana counties above Evansville to be manufactured in the city; hundreds of coops of live poultry; flour, furniture, livestock, and thousands of boxes of groceries and parcels of dry-goods; in fact, hundreds of packages of every description of goods were waiting to be shipped to the southern markets. At times there were as many as six boats lying side by side at the wharf.<sup>9</sup> So heavy was the traffic that many of these boats were unable to carry all their freight, and therefore took with them on either side barges which were filled to capacity.

As early as 1847 Evansville was recognized as the most important shipping point on the Ohio between Louisville and Cairo. Yet nothing had been done that year to improve the wharf except the cutting of roads through the high banks to the landing places. The next year the city contracted with John Mitchell, Marcus Sherwood, and Moses Ross to complete the wharf on a frontage of five acres with a length of two thousand feet. It was almost twenty years later that the wharf was paved.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Gilbert, *History of Evansville and Vanderburg County*, Vol. I, p. 131.

<sup>10</sup>Foster, *Annual Report of the Board of Trade for Evansville in 1867*, p. 35.

Numerous packet lines connected Evansville with trade centers on the Wabash, Ohio, Green, Cumberland, and Tennessee rivers. During the winter and spring months of 1852 the city's newly constructed wharf was filled with products from the valleys of the Wabash and White rivers. At that time river transportation was the only outlet from these valleys, but with the coming of the Evansville and Illinois Railroad and the Mississippi and Ohio Railroad, which paralleled respectively the Wabash and White rivers, steamboat traffic encountered serious competition. About the same time five steamboats made daily trips to Bowling Green, Kentucky, with which Evansville maintained very extensive trade relations.

There was no organized movement to establish packet trade between Evansville and the lower Ohio River cities until 1857, when one boat, the "J. H. Done," was put into service as an experiment. The result was so encouraging that a daily line of packets was established.<sup>11</sup>

Intense rivalry sprang up between the river cities for the carrying trade. In 1858 the Louisville and Memphis packet line was started with the following advertisement in the *Evansville Journal*:

The Louisville and Memphis packets, having been thoroughly repaired, refurnished, etc., will run regularly during the season in Louisville and Memphis trade; connecting with the Cumberland and Tennessee River mail packets at Paducah and the St. Louis boats at Cairo; with the Memphis and New Orleans daily packet lines; with the White, Arkansas and St. Francis Rivers and Napoleon packets at Memphis. Will also issue through tickets to Cincinnati and Eastern cities. The "Southerner" will attend promptly to all business, carrying freight and passengers at the same rate as the other packets. Merchants and traders sending orders can rely upon having them filled and their goods brought by return trip.

The officers of the "Southerner" will take pleasure in filling orders and making purchases—large and small—for their friends along shore. Her machinery is low pressure; her officers are all experienced boatmen, who will at all times consult the safety, comfort, and pleasure of their passengers. She passes Evansville going up on Sundays at about 3 A. M. and in going down she will be here on Wednesdays about 2 P. M.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Foster, *Annual Report of the Board of Trade for Evansville in 1867*, p. 49.

<sup>12</sup>*Evansville Journal*, January 1, 1858.

In January, 1858, the Louisville and Evansville packet line was opened with one steamer, the "Diamond," making the trip twice a week. In May of the same year a packet line between Evansville and New Orleans was established. The following advertisement announced the opening of the line:

The New Orleans and Evansville Packet will leave here every fifteen days. Evansville has enough business to support three such steamers as the "Choctaw" which carries fifteen hundred tons. All should ship *via* our own boats rather than [by] those of Louisville.<sup>13</sup>

The *Journal* printed lengthy articles, the object of which was to stimulate trade already existing with Evansville and to open up new territory for her advantage. It argued that the cities between Evansville and Cairo should ship their north and east bound goods over the Evansville and Cairo packet to Evansville, thence north to Vincennes, *via* the Evansville and Illinois Railroad, where they would be reloaded on the Mississippi and Ohio Railroad which would transport them to the eastern markets. By this route the goods would arrive at their eastern destination one day earlier than if shipped to Louisville on the Louisville and Memphis packet, and thence by railroad to the east. Large quantities of cotton from the Tennessee basin, embracing western Tennessee and northern Mississippi and Alabama, were shipped to Evansville for sale, or through the city in transit to New York. The same vessels returned with merchandise and agricultural products from the Evansville markets.

The *Journal* insisted that the local board of trade use its influence to establish a mail route between Evansville and Bowling Green so that the latter city would look to Evansville rather than to Louisville for its commercial advantages. The same newspaper also contended that the board of trade should take measures to improve Rough Creek and Pond River, both of which are tributaries of Green River.<sup>14</sup> A large portion of the

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<sup>13</sup>Note the thrust at the Louisville and Memphis packet line.

<sup>14</sup>These are streams of considerable volume, the former flowing into Green River from the east, the latter from the south. Bowling Green is on Barren River, which empties into Green River from the south above Morgantown.



goods for the country on the east side of Green River and all the goods for the Rough Creek valley were landed at Owensboro and carted across the country from that point. An expenditure of \$10,000 by Evansville would dam Rough Creek so as to make it navigable for thirty or forty miles through a section of country which exported a large quantity of tobacco and consumed a large amount of goods, nearly all of which were received and shipped through Owensboro and Cloverport, and burdened with a heavy charge for wagoning. If Pond River were improved slightly, crafts could go up to within a few miles of Madisonville and thereby open up another area from which Evansville should draw a great amount of commerce. These suggestions appeared good, but the board of trade did not act favorably upon them.<sup>15</sup>

The coming of the Evansville and Illinois Railroad to Evansville marked the beginning of a rivalry between this road and the Wabash River Packets and the Wabash and Erie Canal with which the latter agencies were not able to cope, and their history, after the establishment of the railroad, was one of decline and eventual financial failure. The carrying trade gradually shifted from the steamboats and towboats to the more rapid and more efficient transportation system, the railroad.

In 1867 the following packet lines were operating from Evansville:<sup>16</sup>

To Cairo, on the Ohio, daily.....	200 miles
Louisville, on the Ohio, daily.....	200 miles
Cannelton, on the Ohio, tri-weekly.....	70 miles
Cincinnati, on the Ohio, weekly.....	332 miles
Bowling Green, Ky., <i>via</i> Green River route, daily....	200 miles
Nashville, on the Cumberland, semi-weekly.....	235 miles
Eastport, on the Tennessee, semi-weekly.....	420 miles
Memphis, on the Mississippi, semi-weekly.....	450 miles
Attica, on the Wabash, semi-weekly.....	455 miles

<sup>15</sup>*Evansville Journal*, September 27, 1858.

<sup>16</sup>Foster, *Annual Report of the Board of Trade for Evansville in 1867*, p. 57.



CITIES HAVING PACKET LINE SERVICE WITH EVANSVILLE  
IN 1867 AND DISTANCES IN MILES FROM  
EVANSVILLE

The boats of the Evansville, Paducah, and Cairo line were smaller than those of the Memphis and Louisville line, but what they lacked in size was amply made up in fine meals and hospitality. Gilbert writes of this hospitality:

The great object of the officers of these boats seemed to be to make their passengers feel perfectly at home. No sooner had the bell rang to loose the cable than card tables were brought out in the main cabin, while in the ladies' cabin the strains of music from beautiful pianos filled the air. Nobody objected to card playing in those days, and in fact, the blue, white, and red chips were considered almost a part of the cabin outfit. . . . A gruff impolite clerk had no business on any steamboat, and soon found himself out of a job. But a good-looking young fellow, who knew how to talk and sing a song, dance anything and do his clerical work besides, was always certain of a salary. . . . The waiters employed were always musicians and while they could not be called cultivated artists, the music they made was of the most exhilarating kind and was plenty good for those days. But it was at the little

towns down the river that the most fun was had. Let it be known, that the packet would be compelled to stay for several hours at Mt. Vernon, Shawneetown and almost any of these points, and the minute the boat landed to take on freight people would be waiting for it and when the boat landed in at the big wharf boats, they would be found filled with bebies of lovely young girls and their attending cavaliers. . . . In some cases it has been found that the boats' cabins were not long enough and especially at Shawneetown, where all were transferred to the big Millspaugh wharf-boat where there was room for all. Those were rare days for the young people.<sup>17</sup>

### EVANSVILLE'S INCOMING RIVER TRAFFIC

Evansville exported to New Orleans, prior to the opening of hostilities, such agricultural products as wheat, corn, pork, beef, lard, flour, tobacco, apples, hay, and livestock. It also furnished a considerable amount of the whiskey consumed by the gulf city. In return Evansville received such important commodities as are listed in the following statement :

#### *Receipts from New Orleans from January to October, 1860.*<sup>18</sup>

Sugar (hhds.) .....	223	Hides (bales) .....	4
Coffee (sacks) .....	787	Mdse. (boxes) .....	126
Molasses (bbls.) .....	624	Mackerel (kits) .....	47
Rice (tierces) .....	7	Tin (boxes) .....	300
Pitch (bbls.) .....	11	Rosin (hhds.) .....	36
Salt (sacks) .....	31	Potatoes (sacks) .....	50
Oranges (boxes) .....	100	Raisins (bbls.) .....	100

The importance to Evansville of the New Orleans sugar, coffee, and molasses market can be seen at a glance. From January to October, as the above statement shows, Evansville received two hundred twenty-three hogsheads of sugar; seven hundred eighty-seven sacks of coffee; and six hundred twenty-four barrels of molasses from the southern city. During the same months one hundred thirteen hogsheads of sugar, sixteen

<sup>17</sup>Gilbert, *History of Evansville and Vanderburg County*, Vol. I, pp. 130-31. For a popular and general account of steamboats touching at Evansville, see Ross, William W., "Romance of Ohio River Transportation," in *Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society during its Sixth year*, pp. 67-75 (Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, 1925).

<sup>18</sup>Data compiled from the *Evansville Journal's* "Steamboat Receipts." No data are available for remaining months of this year.

hundred ninety-one sacks of coffee, and no molasses came in over the railroad from the northern and eastern markets. New Orleans also formed Evansville's chief source of supply for rice, pitch, fish, tin, oranges, and raisins. Thus the immediate severance of commercial relations with the South forced Evansville to look elsewhere for a supply of those commodities which it had formerly obtained from New Orleans.

Evansville became a very important distributing point in the North for such staples as coffee, sugar, and molasses. Referring to the clearances of the Wabash and Erie Canal for 1859, the last year for which such reports are available, one can see that ninety-three thousand, three hundred sixty-three pounds of coffee; ninety-five thousand, six hundred thirty-nine pounds of sugar; and three hundred fifty thousand, five hundred eight pounds of molasses cleared Evansville's canal port for the northern markets.<sup>19</sup>

Receipts from Green River for 1858 and 1860 during the months January to July, inclusive, were as follows:<sup>20</sup>

	1858	1860		1858	1860
Tobacco (hhds.)	1575	2828	Pork (bbls.)	3292	2520
Eggs (boxes)	113	103	Wheat (sacks)	336	245
Flour (bbls.)	1495	1035	Leather (rolls)	48	17
Lard (bbls.)	594	471	Hides (boxes)	—	113
Molasses (bbls.)	50	—	Butter (boxes)	5	—
Beef (bbls.)	73	—	Bran (sacks)	—	66

The above statement of steamboat receipts from January to July gives one a conception of the kind and importance of the commodities which Evansville received from the Green River district. During the seven months of 1860, twenty-eight hundred twenty-eight hogsheads of tobacco were sent from this district to the Evansville tobacco manufacturers. The greatest of these were the Fendrich brothers, who came to the city from Baltimore and started business in 1856. During the same seven months only forty-four hogsheads of tobacco arrived from the North over the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad. There

<sup>19</sup> See Table V in the Appendix.

<sup>20</sup> Data compiled from the "Steamboat Receipts" of the *Evansville Journal*. No receipts are available for remaining months of these years.

were large quantities of tobacco produced locally and transported to the Evansville market, but the exact figures are not available. Evansville's tobacco manufacturers suffered a heavy loss when trade relations with the South were severed. Pork, lard, and flour in large quantities also came to the city by way of the Green River, but since heavy shipments of these products also arrived in the city from the North, the loss of the southern trade did not so seriously affect the city's meat business. Generally speaking, the products shipped in from Green River to Evansville were not distributed to the northern markets, but were consumed directly either in the homes or in the manufacturing processes of Evansville.

The following statement of receipts from the Wabash River country for 1858 and 1860 is very incomplete, and one cannot draw any very definite conclusions concerning the relative importance of such trade to the city.

*Receipts from the Wabash River.*<sup>21</sup>

	Jan.-July 1858	Jan.-Feb. 1860		Jan.-July 1858	Jan.-Feb. 1860
Beef (bbls.).....	38	—	Lard (kegs).....	658	517
Pork (bbls.).....	2410	2475	Flour (bbls.)....	3319	1271
Butter (kegs)....	9	—	Wheat (bu.)....	8641	2922
Tobacco (hhds.)..	370	—	Corn (bu.).....	4475	17379
Leather (rolls)...	18	—	Eggs (bbls.)....	25	8
Whiskey (bbls.)..	—	61	Poultry (boxes)..	51	—
Bran (sacks)....	—	771	Hay (bales).....	—	299
Hides (bundles)..	15	10			

This trade declined rapidly with the improvement of railroad facilities to Evansville and the reopening of the South to northern trade.

There were also large shipments of goods from Louisville, Paducah, Cairo, Cannelton, and South Carrollton to Evansville, but the manifests of these cargoes are not available.

<sup>21</sup>Data compiled from the "Steamboat Receipts" of the *Evansville Journal*. No receipts are available for remaining months of these years.



EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR UPON THE RIVER  
TRAFFIC

In 1861 Evansville ranked among the foremost ports of southern shipments on the western waters. Tri-weekly packets, largely owned and controlled by Evansville capital, plied between Evansville and Cairo, while regular packets to Bowling Green had established a lucrative trade with the Green River valley and the border counties of Kentucky. Evansville's trade also extended northward through the region traversed by the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad and the Wabash and Erie Canal for a distance of approximately seventy-five miles. But when the city thought her commercial greatness still on the upward climb, the Civil War came on. Evansville's peculiar situation in this struggle has already been explained. Her commerce over the southern rivers was extensive; her hopes of commercial intercourse with the north and east *via* the Wabash and Erie Canal were blasted, but there was yet left one dependable highway of transportation to the north, the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad. When war was declared, steamboat traffic to the South was utterly ruined. The Cairo packet line was harrassed by military restrictions; the carrying trade of both the Wabash River packets and the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad was greatly decreased by the lack of a southern demand; business in Evansville came to a virtual standstill and men were without work.

The government gave employment to local boats, however, as well as to a great number of men. In fact, the best boats on the Ohio River were pressed into the service of either the North or the South. Most of these were sheathed on the sides with boiler-plate to prevent bullets from penetrating them. These boats composed what was called the "mosquito fleet." As a rule the vessels were stern-wheelers, since side-wheelers were not so suitable for purposes of war. The pilot's cabin was covered with old tubular boiler-plate which was found quite

impervious to bullets, and the only danger experienced by the pilot was a shot from the front. With all these precautions, piloting was dangerous, and a great number of boats gave up their trade and remained tied to the wharf until the war ended.<sup>22</sup>

The war had not been in progress long before the Evansville merchants began to look to New York for their commercial salvation. The Union armies, by invading Kentucky and Tennessee, had pushed the Confederates southward and had opened to navigation those rivers which flowed northward out of the Confederacy. The territory between the Confederate line and the Ohio River was cut off from Southern support and therefore had to be fed by products coming from the North. Under this stimulus Evansville developed an unprecedented degree of prosperity: her trade revived and soon exceeded that carried on before the war; the wealth and population of the city increased greatly; steamboat interests tripled and manufacturing received a great impetus as the area of trade was enlarged by the forward movement of the Union armies.

The statistics of steamboat arrivals present very vividly the effects of the movements of the armies upon Evansville's river commerce.<sup>23</sup> In April, 1861, the month in which Fort Sumter was fired upon, there was an abrupt decline in the number of steamboat arrivals at the river port of Evansville. From April until September of this year the Union and Confederate forces hotly contested for control of the border state of Kentucky. In September General U. S. Grant seized the strategic points of Paducah, at the confluence of the Ohio and Tennessee rivers, and later Cairo, which held a similar position with reference to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The enemy's line then extended from Island Number Ten to Madrid and Columbus, thence eastward to Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, thence to Bowling Green on the Green River, and eastward to Cumberland Gap. Thus a

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<sup>22</sup>Gilbert, *History of Evansville and Vanderburg County*, Vol. I, pp. 128-29.

<sup>23</sup>See Table I, Appendix; "Steamboat Arrivals from January, 1861 to December, 1867."

more extensive territory was opened to Evansville's commerce as the Confederates were driven southward to these points. Steamboat traffic increased when these rivers were again opened to commerce, as is shown in the table of "Steamboat Arrivals for 1861."

The early months of 1862 brought additional victories to the Union armies. Fort Henry surrendered in January; Fort Donelson fell in February; General A. S. Johnston evacuated Bowling Green at a somewhat later date. In March and April General Pope took New Madrid and Island Number Ten, respectively. And on the respective dates of June 5 and 6, Fort Pillow and Memphis fell into Union hands. After the fall of these strongholds came the revival of steamboat traffic on the Ohio at Evansville from April until August, 1862. After the latter date, however, there was a decided slump in river traffic to the city. This may be explained by the northern invasion of General Bragg. He left Chattanooga August 28, eluded General Buell, the Union general, and marched into Kentucky. Here he seized Lexington, terrorized Louisville, and threatened Cincinnati. In this section of the border state, Bragg had expected the populace to rush to his aid, but instead he found the Union sentiment very strong. General Buell hastened northward in pursuit of Bragg, whom he overtook on October 8 at Perryville, sixty-five miles southeast of Louisville. Here a bloody battle was fought, after which General Bragg retired towards Chattanooga. This northern thrust by the Confederates, though apparently of no military consequence, so paralyzed steamboat traffic at Evansville that it declined from twenty-five to thirty-five per cent. of its usual volume. By December, 1862, however, more steamboats were on the rivers and a greater number were stopping at Evansville.

From the early months of 1863 to the close of the war, steamboat traffic on the Ohio River was flourishing. The rivers flowing out of the Confederacy into the Ohio were occupied throughout their greater portions by the Union forces, and the territory along their courses looked northward for provisions and support. Evansville's business soon surpassed

that of pre-war days, and great fortunes were made by wholesale merchants, who, seeing their opportunity, had stored up goods in order to reap the benefit of the rise in prices. At this time the trade area of the city was tripled; steamboat interests were doubled, and business in general was quickening into life.

The increase in river traffic at Evansville in the late years of the Civil War period was rather a general situation which prevailed on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers at the time. The greatest days of steamboating on the western rivers, however, were from 1840 to 1859, when the country had become populous and railroads had not yet come into active competition with them. After 1866 there was a gradual decline in steamboat building. This should serve as a fair criterion whereby to judge the trend of river traffic.<sup>24</sup>

## THE CANAL

The close trade relations of Evansville with the South were to some extent matched in 1853 toward the North with the coming of the Wabash and Erie Canal, which for a brief time connected the city with the commerce of the North and East. The War of 1812 had aroused unprecedented interest in the rich farmlands of the great Northwest and Southwest, and when peace came, great hordes of settlers, partly from Europe and partly from the East, poured into these regions. The total quantity of farm products increased enormously and the farmers clamored for an outlet to a market. The canal systems of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio were so disconnected that they did not constitute an economical outlet for the products of Indiana and Illinois. The only practicable outlet for these states was still southward towards New Orleans by means of flatboats down the Ohio River to the Mississippi and its tribu-

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<sup>24</sup>*Report on Transportation Business of the United States at the Eleventh Census, House Documents, 1891-92, Vol. L, Part II, p. 397.* For the decline in steamboat building see Table II, "Steamboat Construction on the Western Rivers from 1855 to 1870," in the Appendix of this article.

taries. Hence the people of these states living along the rivers early became accustomed to look to the South for their commercial advantages. This tendency was the more marked because most of this early population had come from the South. But those who later came by way of the National Road naturally looked to New York and Philadelphia as commercial outlets, and were eager to establish lines of communication in that direction. The East was none the less eager to connect with the West as may be illustrated by a letter written by Governor Clinton of New York, in 1817, to Governor Jennings, of Indiana. In this letter he discussed the practicability of connecting the Great Lakes with the Ohio-Mississippi River system. If this plan should materialize, it would serve as a continuation of his great project begun in New York, the Erie Canal. About this time the legislature of Pennsylvania passed a resolution inviting the states of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Virginia to participate in a conference on internal improvements with special reference to the navigation of the Ohio. It seemed evident that any plan suggested at this conference should harmonize with the general program of Governor Clinton if the greatest results were to be realized from a canal system.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile the great question before the people was how to get the products of the West to the eastern markets most economically. Transportation facilities were lagging far behind capacity for production. Prices of western products along the seaboard were exorbitantly high, while the West suffered from over-production. Advocates of internal improvements pointed to the success of New York City, which, by means of the Erie Canal, was far outstripping her commercial rivals along the seaboard. Pennsylvania was spending great sums of money to connect her metropolis, Philadelphia, with the Ohio River and thus compete with New York for this rich trade. Baltimore was contributing vast sums to establish a line of communication with the West by means of a joint canal and railroad system. Ohio was building canals to connect Lake Erie with

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<sup>25</sup>Esarey, Logan, *A History of Indiana*, Vol. I, p. 353 (Indianapolis, 1915).



the Ohio River. The mania for internal improvements was sweeping westward and had taken a firm hold upon the inhabitants of Indiana.

In January, 1835 citizens of Vigo County petitioned the state legislature to extend to Evansville the Wabash and Erie Canal, which had been started March 1, 1832, in order that they might have an outlet to the South for their products. In other parts of the state some people wanted railroads, some wanted macadamized roads, while others wanted canals.<sup>26</sup> In response to this general clamor an internal improvement bill was passed by the state legislature and was approved on January 27, 1836. This law was burdened with many provisions, but those which dealt with the construction of a canal system to Evansville were as follows:

1. The Wabash and Erie Canal would constitute the backbone of the system. This was to be extended to Terre Haute, thence across the country connecting with the Central Canal at Point Commerce, or near the mouth of Black Creek in Knox County.<sup>27</sup> This was to be known as the Cross-cut Canal.

2. The Central Canal should extend from a point on the Wabash River up the Mississinewa River *via* Muncietown paralleling the West Fork of White River to its junction point with the East Fork, thence by the best route to Evansville.<sup>28</sup>

The governor was authorized, with the advice and consent of the senate, to appoint six persons to act jointly with the Canal Board already established. Their wages were to be two dollars for each day that they actually worked. This board was given the right of eminent domain as an aid to their construction work.<sup>29</sup>

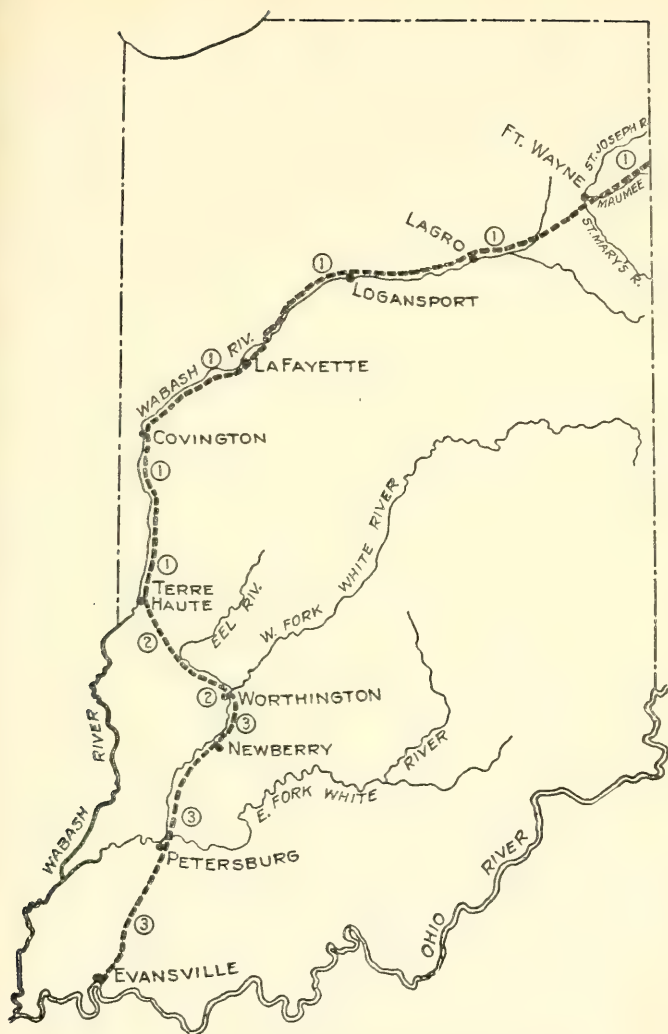
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<sup>26</sup>Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. I, pp. 361-63; *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1834-35, p. 255.

<sup>27</sup>Point Commerce is now the town of Worthington.

<sup>28</sup>*Laws of Indiana*, 1835-36, pp. 6-8. South of Point Commerce the Canal was originally to be a part of the Central Canal. After the abandonment of its upper part, the Central Canal, the part south of Point Commerce, was made a part of the Wabash and Erie, as was also the Cross-cut Canal from Terre Haute to Point Commerce.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.



#### WABASH AND ERIE CANAL IN INDIANA

1. Part of original Wabash-Erie Canal.
2. Cross-cut Canal, later included in the Wabash-Erie Canal.
3. Part of projected Central Canal, later included in Wabash-Erie Canal.

The news of the passage of this bill, called the "Mammoth Bill," was received with great enthusiasm from Evansville to Fort Wayne. On the day the first contract was let for the southern extension of the canal, Evansville was the scene of a great celebration attended by the most distinguished citizens of the state, among whom was Governor David Wallace. A huge dinner was provided, toasts were drunk, and the affair closed with a ball which was graced by the presence of the "beauty and fashion" of Vanderburg and surrounding counties, including a large delegation from Henderson, Kentucky.<sup>30</sup>

For a year or more after the passage of the internal improvement bill every city, town, and hamlet along the canal's proposed course enjoyed an unusual degree of prosperity. Evansville took on new life with people flocking to the city from the South and East. Some of these people, as speculators, hoped to reap the advantages of the unearned increment through buying lots; others, as business men, hoped to enjoy the commercial advantages of an outlet towards the North and East which the canal would bring. Business was given a new impetus; values in real estate in the city and surrounding country increased greatly; farm products were coming into the city in greater quantities; and the steamers were busily plying the rivers as never before to remove the produce stacked on the newly constructed levees.<sup>31</sup> But this prosperity was of short duration. People with capital were speculating heavily in western lands and were investing wildly in internal improvement projects, while the industrial community lived chiefly on the expectation that the morrow would carry the wave of speculation higher than it was the previous day. The crash came in 1837, and by 1839 the state, finding itself unable to meet its obligations, suspended work on the projects undertaken under the internal improvement bill of 1836.

In 1841 the state gave private companies the right to finish any one of these projects except the Wabash and Erie Canal. The state thought that with the aid of the national government

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<sup>30</sup>*Evansville Journal*, August 13, 1856.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, August 13, 1858.

it could finish that canal in a few years, but this proved impossible. In 1846 Charles Butler put through the transaction whereby a group of bondholders agreed that they would take over the state's interests in the Wabash and Erie Canal, would assume one-half of the debt of the state and would complete the canal, provided the state should issue new bonds for the other half of the debt and pay interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum.<sup>32</sup> Under this new arrangement the canal was finally completed to Evansville in 1853.

Building the canal was a very slow process. In most cases a contractor and his gang of men worked on a section which was ordinarily a mile in length. Where the work was heavier, the section was shortened accordingly so that the work on the contiguous sections might be completed in about the same time. The work of the gangs is well described in the following passage :

The embankments were made by hauling the dirt in one-horse carts. The usual outfit for a crew of men, when the haul was not over two hundred yards, was four carts and four men to shovel the dirt into them. The work was so timed that the loaded cart was ready to pull out as soon as an empty one was ready to go to be loaded. Over forty men and carts there was a boss. The shovelers were nearly all Irishmen; there were few Americans. Of the latter, most of them got out timbers for the culverts and bridges. . . . lax laws resulted in many little drinking dens along the canal.<sup>33</sup>

People working on the canal had little respect for rules of sanitation. Such living conditions subjected them to many diseases, the most dreaded of which was cholera. It is estimated that not less than one thousand people died of cholera along the canal from Patoka to Pigeon Summits from early summer until late fall of 1850. A person once stricken with this deadly plague would succumb within three or four hours. This disease delayed work on the canal and created a panic which scattered the workmen and with them the disease over the country.<sup>34</sup>

The canal entered Gibson County, after crossing the Patoka

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<sup>32</sup>Stormont, Gil R., *History of Gibson County, Indiana*, p. 94 (Indianapolis, 1914).

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>34</sup>Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. I, p. 388.

River, on an aqueduct at the old town of Dongola. It passed out of Gibson into Warrick County, following the lowlands of Pigeon Creek. From Pigeon Creek Summit to Evansville there is a descent of some fifty-one feet, which was overcome by seven locks at a distance of nineteen miles from its terminus at the city. By this means the canal was dropped to the Evansville level. Feeders were constructed along the way to tide the canal over the dry season. The southern terminus was fixed by law on the east side of Pigeon Creek, since following this side would avoid the expense of crossing the stream.<sup>35</sup>

The canal passed from the town of Chandler to Evansville along the route now occupied by the Southern Railroad: the tracks are laid on the old towpath of the canal. It crossed Weinbach Street, the present corporation line, between Columbia Street and Terrace Avenue; thence in a southwesterly direction until it touched Franklin Street near its intersection with Rose Avenue. It then proceeded on Franklin to Canal Street; thence along Canal to its intersection with Fifth Street where it divided. One arm continued down Canal Street to Second Street. The other arm, which continued through the Lamasco district, passed down Fifth Street to the basin where the courthouse now stands, whence it passed down First Avenue and across the lot now occupied by the Municipal Market. It then passed down Indiana Street to Seventh Avenue where it widened into a basin three hundred forty feet long and one hundred sixty feet wide. The water then passed from this basin to Pigeon Creek, a distance of four hundred ten feet over a fall of fifty-six feet. This fall furnished power to the city, which paid a water rent to the state for the maintenance of the canal. The streets of Lamasco through which the canal passed were one hundred sixty feet wide, sixty feet of which were used for the canal channel, leaving one hundred feet for the towpath and street.<sup>36</sup>

A large basin had to be constructed near the center of the

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<sup>35</sup>*Indiana Senate Journal*, 1836-37, pp. 153-54.

<sup>36</sup>*Map of Lamasco Survey* (Boston, 1843), Abstract Office of Sebastian Hendrich, Evansville.



city to enable the loaded canal boats to dock and discharge their cargoes in the business district. The place chosen for the basin when the survey was made was the old graveyard which then occupied the position on which the courthouse now stands. The graveyard was removed and a large basin excavated. A group of far-sighted business men, seeing the coming need of canal boats, proceeded to organize a corporation to build them. They imported experienced shipbuilders from the East and constructed the "Rowley" and the "Evansville" in the newly excavated basin.<sup>37</sup>

At this time the canal was nothing more than a dry ditch running through the city, the basin but a huge hole in the ground. Anxiously and patiently had the people waited for the news that water would be turned into the ditch which would connect their city with Lake Erie and the East. The progress of the canal had been in a southerly direction since 1836 and the citizens of Evansville considered the canal a means by which their city would become the greatest commercial metropolis of the western waters.

The canal should have been finished to Evansville in the year 1852, but several obstacles prevented its completion. Floods swept through the valley of White River, seriously damaging an aqueduct and a large culvert between the Newberry feeder and Maysville. The aqueduct was not repaired until the following June, the cost being \$25,000. The banks on the fifteen mile division between Maysville and Petersburg proved so weak that they had to be strengthened and consolidated. Cholera among the laborers, already referred to, hampered greatly the construction of the canal.

At last, in September, 1853, news reached the city that water was actually moving down the channel. One can hardly imagine with what hilarity and expectancy the populace gathered along the basin, there to witness the on-coming waters that would float their two newly constructed canal boats and would connect them with the great markets of the North and East.

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<sup>37</sup>Elliott, J. P., *A History of Evansville and Vanderburgh County*, p. 104 (Evansville, 1897).

The first trip of the canal boats was to White River, and the first passengers consisted of invited guests only. On this initial trip many took with them their guns and fishing tackle and indulged in a regular picnic. So plentiful was the game in the country along the canal that the passengers brought back quite a number of deer and bear, and a great quantity of small game.<sup>38</sup>

The first boat from Toledo arrived in Evansville on September 22, 1853.<sup>39</sup>

### THE CANAL IN OPERATION

Now that the canal had been completed, Evansville hoped to realize that long expected prosperity towards which it had been looking since the passage of the internal improvement bill of 1836. The city's business was on the boom; speculation in real estate continued; warehouses and mills were erected along the banks of the canal; products could be brought from the North and East by way of the canal at very low rates. From Dongola to Evansville the rate on two hundred fifty pounds of lard was ten cents; on a barrel of pork, eight and one-third cents; on a hogshead of tobacco from sixteen to eighteen hundred pounds, fifty cents each. Most of the boats were heavy freighters, since the canal business was chiefly that of transporting freight. Passengers on the canal were very few, as already they could ride over the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad to Vincennes where it joined with the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad from Cincinnati to St. Louis. There were two fine passenger boats, however, which made the trip between Evansville and Terre Haute. Both the "Prairie Queen" and the "Pride of the Wabash" were well equipped and finely finished, and would each carry thirty-five passengers with sleeping accommodations, and many more if the additional passengers furnished their own sleeping equipment. The speed

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<sup>38</sup>Gilbert, *History of Evansville and Vanderburg County*, p. 49.

<sup>39</sup>"Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal," p. 16, *Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1853 (Indianapolis, 1854).

of these passenger boats was one hundred miles per day of twenty-four hours. They were drawn by four shifts of horses daily.<sup>40</sup>

The career of the canal was destined to be of short duration and full of troubles. Many physical obstacles had to be overcome in its construction, maintenance, and operation. Since the upper portion of the canal from Fort Wayne to Terre Haute paralleled the course of the Wabash River, the repair cost was not high. But if one observes the map and traces the canal carefully from Evansville to the White River feeder, he will see that it ran at right angles to the natural drainage system. This naturally required a great number of cuts and fills requiring not only a large sum to construct but a constant expense to maintain. Some of the costly engineering projects should be noted. One was the system of locks nineteen miles from Evansville. These locks were to raise the boats over an ascent of fifty-one feet. The same number of locks were required to lift the boats over a fall in Honey Creek, a short distance south of Terre Haute. Feeders were erected on Pigeon Creek, on the West Fork of White River, and on Eel River. Reservoirs were constructed at Port Gibson, in Gibson County, and at Birch Creek, in Clay County. These were formed by damming up the streams, in most cases leaving the vegetation intact. The famous Corst-cut and the cut through the Eel River Summit were maintained only with difficulty, as the banks were continually crumbling and depositing sediment in the canal.<sup>41</sup> There were also a number of aqueducts which led the canal over the streams. These were frequently destroyed when the streams were at flood stage. Just as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, so the canal, as an avenue of commerce, was no more efficient than its weakest engineering project.

The first year of the canal did not bring forth all that its advocates had expected. Evansville had neither tolls nor water rents to its credit before September, 1853, at which time the

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<sup>40</sup>Stormont, *History of Gibson County*, p. 95.

<sup>41</sup>*Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1855, Part II, p. 135 (Indianapolis, 1856).

canal was opened through to Evansville.<sup>42</sup> In September the city's canal station collected \$76.60 of water rents and tolls; in October, \$151.50; in November, \$182.72, thus making a total of \$410.82 for the three months of 1853 during which time the canal was serving Evansville as a carrier of commerce. Worthington, during the same three months, collected \$422.23; Terre Haute, \$3,085.17; Lafayette, \$21,663.30; Fort Wayne, \$31,589.60. From these figures it can be seen that Evansville, during the three months in which the canal was opened to Toledo, drew the least revenue of all the important stations along the canal.

As early as 1854 the operators of the canal could feel keenly the presence of their new rival, the railroad, which was destined soon to surpass the canal as a carrier of commerce. Shipments of merchandise over the canal were rapidly decreasing, even during 1854, in favor of the railroads. The total tonnage on the canal was heavier than during the preceding year, however, due largely to an increase in the shipments of corn, lumber, iron, and other articles which paid relatively low tolls. Although the tonnage was heavier this year, yet there was no appreciable increase in revenue. Wheat shipments had been light because of a general crop failure. The loss of merchandise shipments was a heavy blow to the canal, for they paid the highest tolls of any articles carried.<sup>43</sup> During 1854 Evansville's business on the canal improved materially. Its tolls and water rents amounted to \$2,316.12, but still it was trailing far behind all the other important canal stations except Petersburg and Worthington. The revenues of Terre Haute, Lafayette, and Fort Wayne were \$8,066.84, \$63,641.54, and \$56,935.20 respectively.

From Terre Haute southward in 1854 the canal experienced many obstacles. On June 21 the embankment along Birch

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<sup>42</sup>See Table III in the Appendix. This table gives detailed figures for the periods December—November, inclusive, 1852-53, 1854-55, 1858-59, 1859-60. Illustrative figures for the intervening periods are given on the following pages in the text in this section. Water rents were charged those persons who used the water of the canal for any purpose other than that of shipping.

<sup>43</sup>*Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1854, Part II, p. 911 (Indianapolis, 1855).

Creek reservoir was cut by some persons, thus shutting off the water supply of an important division of the canal. The governor issued a proclamation offering a reward for the detection of the guilty parties, but to no avail. A little later in the year, in the same county, some culprits attempted to burn the Eel River dam, which was perhaps the most costly structure on the lower section of the canal. One cannot easily estimate the damages caused by these outrages. The repairs alone cost \$20,000, to say nothing of the loss to business and the inconvenience to the people of all the areas depending upon the canal as a means of transportation.<sup>44</sup> The inhabitants of Clay County contended that the Birch Creek reservoir, because of the great amount of timber and vegetation in the flooded district, was a cause of disease; and they determined that it would not remain longer in their midst unless the vegetation were removed. In compliance with this complaint the board of trustees took immediate action to have the reservoir cleared.<sup>45</sup>

The year 1855 gave promise of being a better year for the southern end of the canal. The revenues collected at the stations located in this section had approximately doubled, while those collected from Terre Haute northward were substantially reduced from those of the preceding year. It seemed, however, that the canal was not permitted to enjoy a long period of prosperity, for destruction, either natural or artificial, intervened. At mid-day, May 10, one hundred men "disguised by blackened faces and other concealments" cut and destroyed the banks of Birch Creek reservoir after driving away, at the risk of their lives, a small band of workmen.<sup>46</sup> A small force came together and attempted to repair the breach at once, but while working they were surrounded by a band of armed men who ordered them to leave the site of the reservoir immediately. On the last day of May a group of vandals attacked and badly damaged the aqueduct over Birch Creek. When the governor heard of this, he despatched troops to the troubled scene to

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<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 911-12.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 912.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, 1855, Part II, p. 120.



protect the workmen while they repaired the aqueduct and reservoir. All went well as long as the armed force remained, but on the night following their withdrawal the same band appeared and cut the embankment, thus putting an end to navigation for practically the remainder of the season. The commandant, during his sojourn in Clay County, arrested many persons who were implicated in the depredations, but the local courts would not convict them.<sup>47</sup>

In the year 1856 the revenues derived from tolls on the lower section of the canal were very low. The destruction of Birch Creek reservoir made through traffic virtually impossible and thus cut the canal into a north and south division at this point. The total revenues collected at Evansville during the year were little more than half those of the preceding year. Numerous breaches occurred in the Petersburg district which hampered navigation in this section. Already proponents of the canal were losing faith in its permanency, for it had begun to appear that the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad, which at that time connected Evansville and Terre Haute, and the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, which connected St. Louis and Cincinnati, were becoming strong competitors in the carrying trade.<sup>48</sup> The railroad as a common carrier had proved itself far superior to the canal.

The year 1857 was featured by continuous obstacles in the way of canal transportation. On the first day of November heavy rains fell in the valley of Pigeon Creek, raising the stream to an unusual height and causing huge breaks in the embankments of the canal. Many breaches also occurred in the Eel River feeder. The thirty-foot cut through Pigeon Creek summit was badly in need of repair, as the soil was continually washing from the slopes into the canal and preventing the free passage of boats at this point. During the year 1857 the tolls collected south of Terre Haute were \$7,998.35, and the cost

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<sup>47</sup>*Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1855, Part II, pp. 120-21.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 1856, Part II, pp. 296-97 (Indianapolis, 1857).

of repairs for this section was \$40,556.86.<sup>49</sup> It was now evident that the canal was both a financial and a commercial failure.

The year 1858 brought further disappointments to the operators of the canal. Artificial and natural impediments again interfered, as follows:

1. June freshets seriously damaged the canal in the regions of Spring Creek and Otter Creek.

2. Water broke in from rivers over the towpath at numerous points, made small breaches in the banks and formed extensive barriers in the bottom of the canal.

3. Continuous and heavy rains washed the earth down into the canal from bluffs and sand hills.

4. Navigation was suspended in the Petersburg district eighty-one days by breaks, thirty days by high waters, and two days by ice, making a total of one hundred thirteen days of the year during which the canal could not be used for navigation purposes.

5. Many attempts were made to cut the banks of the Birch Creek aqueduct, one of these proving successful on August 23. There were two attempts made to cut the towpath near Kossuth and two attempts made to release the water from the Eel River dam.<sup>50</sup>

The newspapers of southwestern Indiana expressed themselves very freely and very disparagingly about the canal as an agent of transportation. In April the *Evansville Journal* feared that navigation on the canal would be stopped for at least a month, for there were two small breaks between that city and Hosmer, a section from which the city drew a large amount of trade. This newspaper also upbraided the Canal Board for its accustomed delay in making the necessary repairs.<sup>51</sup>

In the latter part of November, 1858 the *Journal* described at length the difficulties encountered by three boats which were bringing marble from Toledo to Evansville. The trip should not have required, under favorable conditions, more than eleven

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<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, 1857, p. 175 (Indianapolis, 1858).

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 1858, pp. 310-13 (Indianapolis, 1859).

<sup>51</sup>*Evansville Journal*, April 24, 1858.

days. The boats were of seventy-five tons capacity, each carrying fifty tons of marble. All went well until they reached Terre Haute, and from there southward they found places where the water in the canal was no more than twenty-four inches deep. This made it necessary to unload a part of their cargo and return later for it. The freight rates from Toledo to Evansville were five dollars per ton. Useless to say, the operators lost financially in the undertaking.<sup>52</sup>

In August, 1858 the *Vincennes Gazette* declared that if the Canal Board would keep the canal in a favorable state of repair, they need not fear the competition of the railroads. It also called the board a group of "broken down political crooks."

In November, 1858 the *Evansville Journal* complained despairingly of the canal's future:

There is scarcely a house in this city that has entrusted its property on it, but can enumerate heavy losses of thousands of dollars by long detentions, and extra expenses incurred by wagoning goods from points where they had been caught in the canal by some accident, the most positive assurance from Trustees and officers that all is right on the canal, cannot induce a business man here to ship an article on the canal—though it would be carried free—to any point to which he can send it by any other conveyance, even if it cost him fourfold. We daily see shippers paying twenty-five cents per hundred pounds freight by railroads and wagons, when the canal boats to the same place are offering to take it for ten cents, during the short and infrequent intervals when the canal is said to be in complete order. If its management cannot be improved it might as well be filled up between here and Terre Haute except for the short distance on which cordwood is brought to the city. It was by the exertion of the people of this city that public lands were procured; it was by the promises and assurances given by delegates from this city of the national benefits it was to confer to the people of all the western and nearly all the eastern states that they were persuaded to pass resolutions and memorialize Congress to give us the public lands. But the work we promised should be a national avenue for trade between the North and South has proved an abortion and our character for foresight and good faith is damaged by the failure.<sup>53</sup>

In 1859 the canal south of Newberry passed from the control of the state to that of private hands. The legislature, when it adjourned, had left no provision whereby the canal in that division could be cared for. The tolls and water rents in no way took care of the repairs. On March 26, 1859 the Canal Board

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<sup>52</sup>*Evansville Journal*, November 29, 1858.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, November 19, 1858.

made a contract with Ziba H. Cook and Marvin A. Lawrence, of Vanderburg County; Goodlet Morgan, of Pike County; Jacob H. Miller, of Warrick County; and Matthew L. Brett, of Daviess County, whereby they should receive all the net tolls and water rents in the Newberry and Evansville division, a distance of ninety-five miles, after they had paid certain salaries, damages, and other expenses stipulated in the contract. In return they were to keep the canal in a navigable condition.<sup>54</sup>

In August, 1859 navigation from Newberry southward was completely stopped because of repairs which were being made on the aqueduct over the East Fork of White River. The revenues of this year, however, would lead one to think that business on the canal was shifting from Terre Haute to Evansville, as the latter's revenues were two and one-half times those of the former. Evansville's winter commerce ranked third among the ten canal stations for the year, but during the summer season it was unable to keep pace in revenues with the other cities along the canal.

In the latter part of 1859 and in the year of 1860 faith in the canal as an efficient artery of commerce had well nigh vanished. Citizens of Evansville complained about the insanitary conditions that existed along the arm of the canal through Lamasco, and asked permission to fill it up. In this locality people refused to build; lots stood vacant along, or near, its banks; the values of real estate diminished in proportion to its proximity to the canal; the odor arising therefrom admonished the homeseekers to "seek" elsewhere.<sup>55</sup> In case the canal were filled up, sewers would have to be laid to carry surplus water for manufacturing purposes. This would not only improve living conditions along the canal but would avoid the expense of building bridges across the canal in the city. But before the canal could be filled up, the city would have to get the permission of the legislature and of the business houses along its course.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>*Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1859, pp. 314-15 (Indianapolis, 1860).

<sup>55</sup>*Evansville Journal*, November 9, 1859.

<sup>56</sup>*Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1860, p. 286 (Indianapolis, 1861).

The figures for the receipts from tolls and water rents received in the year 1859-60 illustrate very vividly the breakdown and failure of the canal from Terre Haute to Evansville during the year 1860, at which time the relations between the North and South were becoming severely strained. Winter commerce to Evansville from December, 1859 to April, 1860 exceeded that of any other station along the canal, and was the greatest the city had carried on in any similar period of its history. But the shipments to Evansville were only local, for the upper end of the lower division was closed to navigation. Repairs were made on the White River aqueduct and breaches were mended at numerous other points, but when these were finished and water turned in, a breach occurred in the Prairie Creek aqueduct in Daviess County. This required four thousand cubic yards of earth for re-establishment and could be repaired at a probable cost of \$1,400. About this time the engineer of the canal, J. L. Williams, was in Evansville and urged upon the managers the necessity for immediate repair of the breach in the Prairie Creek aqueduct, but no funds were available and nothing was done.<sup>57</sup> Time and again the secretary at the canal office made requests and threats in order to obtain funds from the stockholders to keep the canal in a navigable condition, but his efforts were futile.<sup>58</sup> The stockholders had lost confidence in the canal as a financial and commercial undertaking and refused to meet the assessments which were levied for its repairs. The subsequent history of the canal is one of neglect and failure.

Evansville, during the period of canal transportation, was the commercial metropolis for southwestern Indiana and furnished a convenient market for localities as far north as Logansport. The comparative statement of articles transported on the canal tells a story to those who are interested in Evansville's

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<sup>57</sup>*Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1860, p. 285.

<sup>58</sup>"Stockholders of the Southern Canal Fund that are delinquent on the fourth assessment are requested to call at the secretary's office today and settle the amounts without further delay, and those who do not comply with the request, suit will be brought against them in the next term of the common pleas court, commencing Monday February 20, 1860." *Evansville Journal*, February 8, 1860.



canal trade from 1853 to 1859.<sup>59</sup> A glance at the figures will readily show the commodities which formed the basis of Evansville's trade to the North and East. The arrivals consisted largely of farm products, pig iron, and building materials. The clearances included hardware, groceries, drygoods, drugs, merchandise, and building materials.

By taking a few typical articles of general use one can see how far north along the canal Evansville controlled the trade. In 1858 the stations along the canal south of Covington sent their flour to Evansville, which fact can be determined by totaling the clearances of flour from all the canal stations from Covington to Evansville. The total is found to be equal to the arrivals of flour in Evansville for the same year. This can be checked by totaling the clearances in the same commodity from Covington northward to Toledo and comparing them with the arrivals at Toledo. If the total clearances of stations south of Covington are equal to the arrivals at Evansville, and if the total clearances from Covington northward equal the arrivals at Toledo, one may then conclude with reasonable accuracy that the flour south of Covington went to Evansville and that north of this point went to Toledo. By a similar process of calculation it is found that Evansville drew wheat, corn, and pork from as far north as Terre Haute. Coal, however, came from the region of Covington from 1855 to 1859. There were no shipments of coal into Evansville over the canal prior to 1855. The northern limits of Evansville's tobacco market are difficult to determine to a certainty but they probably extended to the vicinity of Lafayette.

Sugar, coffee, whiskey, salt, nails, and spikes furnish good examples of the extent of Evansville's export trade by canal. In 1853 the city's trade area for sugar extended as far north as Worthington; during the years 1854 to 1857, to Covington. Terre Haute furnished the northern limits of Evans-

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<sup>59</sup>Appendix, Tables IV and V. These are tabulated lists of articles which arrived at (Table IV) and of those which cleared (Table V) the port of Evansville during the time the canal was in operation from Toledo to Evansville.

ville's market for coffee and salt. Beyond this point the coffee and sugar came from the eastern markets. Evansville's whiskey was shipped at least as far north as Covington. The market for nails and spikes varied greatly with the years. From 1854 to 1856 shipments can be traced as far north as Logansport. In the year 1857 and 1858 Evansville's canal station registered no clearances in this commodity. In 1859, however, when canal shipping was very uncertain Evansville's market for nails and spikes extended no farther north than Worthington. These few typical and much demanded commodities will suffice to show the scope and importance of Evansville's trade to the northward on the Wabash and Erie Canal from 1853 to 1859.

During the period of the Civil War the canal went rapidly to decay. In 1861 the section of sixty-five miles between Newberry and Pigeon Creek reservoir was closed to navigation. But that part, thirty miles in extent, between this reservoir and Evansville was held intact through local and individual efforts.

The commercial situation of Evansville on the eve of the Civil War, when hostilities were opening with the South, was critical. At this time its canal traffic to the north and east was virtually destroyed. Formerly the city had drawn a lucrative trade from the Green, Cumberland, Tennessee, and Mississippi rivers, but with the coming of the war this trade likewise would be destroyed. The impending question then before the city was, should it join the South and save its commerce, as many agitators in the city would have it do, or remain loyal, fight in behalf of the Union and take chances on recuperating its commerce after the termination of the war. This question confronted the city from November, 1860 until the outbreak of hostilities in April, 1861—that period between the election of Abraham Lincoln and the firing on Fort Sumter. This may be rightly termed the critical period in the history of the city. It was a time when sentiment was divided between the North and the South. But when the city had finally taken its stand for the Union, Southern sentiment was repressed and rebel sympathizers were handled with severity.

By 1861 the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad was

operating trains between Evansville and Terre Haute and was largely replacing the canal as an avenue of trade. At Vincennes the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad connected with the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, from Cincinnati to St. Louis. At Terre Haute it joined with the Indianapolis route to the east and the Alton and St. Louis route to the west. Hence the advantages which the city sought from the canal it had secured largely through the railroads which had proved to be a more efficient system of transportation.<sup>60</sup>

In 1865 the city began to fill up the canal at the street crossings. The filling of the intermediate portions was completed two years later at a cost of \$2,000 to the owners of the land.<sup>61</sup>

The Wabash and Erie Canal is viewed as one of the most colossal failures in the history of canals. It was projected over a distance finally of four hundred sixty-nine miles, the longest canal in the United States. Viewing the situation from a modern day perspective, it appears as a foolhardy venture. It cannot be denied that canals, in spite of the low cost of labor and material, were very expensive. Eastern canals cost from \$16,000 to \$23,000 per mile; the Chesapeake and Ohio was figured at \$60,000 per mile;<sup>62</sup> while railroads hardly ever exceeded \$15,000 per mile for construction. In 1836, when Indiana launched her system of internal improvements, its population was scarcely five hundred thousand; large tracts of land were yet held by the federal government and a large per cent. of the inhabitants were still log-cabin frontiersmen; yet the state planned an internal improvement program consisting of a railroad, pikes, and canals to cost \$20,000,000 and bonded itself for half that amount. This meant a twenty dollar debt for each man, woman, and child in the state. At last the state reached a point where it could no longer stand the financial

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<sup>60</sup>Foster, *Annual Report of the Board of Trade for Evansville in 1867*, p. 43.

<sup>61</sup>Elliott, *A History of Evansville and Vanderburgh County*, p. 109.

<sup>62</sup>Hulbert, Archer B., *The Great American Canals*, Vol. I, p. 161 (*Historic Highways of America*, Vol. XIII, Cleveland, 1904).

pressure, and the responsibility for the operation and maintenance of the canal was unloaded on the contractors and bondholders for half the cost—at that time the only settlement the creditors could obtain from the bankrupt state. The result was that the purchasers, finding the canal a heavy liability, went before the state legislature with a petition, complaining of their unfortunate bargain and claiming that, as the state had granted charters to the railroads parallel to the canal, the construction of which had carried off the business of the canal, the contractors and bondholders should be remunerated for their loss. But the legislature could not see things in this light.<sup>63</sup>

The fortunes of many Evansville people were sunk in the vain endeavor to make the canal an efficient and permanent avenue of transportation between the Ohio-Mississippi and Great Lakes systems. The speculators who had bought and built in the city with the expectation that the canal would ultimately bring them huge fortunes through increasing the value of their real estate and bring them a larger volume of business, were greatly disappointed. Thus ended the brief life of that part of the Wabash and Erie Canal from Terre Haute to Evansville, which came into being in the year 1853. It had proved a constant liability to the state, and later to the bondholders who had been forced to accept it. The canal quietly perished from neglect, mourned by none but its creditors and owners.

## THE RAILROAD

Shortly after the incorporation of Evansville as a city in 1847, its business men of vision saw that some means of transportation leading north was indispensable to the city's progress. The "Mammoth" internal improvement bill of 1836 had promised to furnish Evansville with canal connections with the Great Lakes and eastern cities, but the construction of this canal had progressed so slowly that Evansville's citizens grew impatient and started a movement for a railroad.

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<sup>63</sup>*Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, Vol. XLII, p. 54 (New York, 1860).

In March, 1849 the board of commissioners of Vanderburg County ordered an election to determine whether or not the people of the county wished to subscribe \$100,000 worth of stock in the Evansville and Illinois Railroad, as it was then called. The vote stood six hundred twenty-four to two hundred eighty-eight in favor of purchasing the \$100,000 of stock in the enterprise. In June the county auditor bought five hundred shares, and fifteen hundred more shares were to be bought at a later date. The county treasury at this time was low, so the treasurer had to negotiate a four months loan for \$1020.50 at the Evansville Branch Bank, the proceeds of which were to go for part payment on the five hundred\* shares of stock. This amounted to little more than two dollars per share down. The county raised the balance by issuing \$99,000 in six per cent. bonds during the month of December, 1849. The city of Evansville also subscribed \$100,000 of stock to the proposed railroad.<sup>64</sup>

On January 2, 1849 a bill of the state legislature was approved which provided for the construction of a "Rail Road from Evansville, on the Ohio River, to connect with the Ohio and Mississippi Rail Road at or near Olney, in the State of Illinois, *via* Princeton, Gibson county, Indiana, and Mount Carmel, Illinois."<sup>65</sup>

On January 21, 1850 the charter of the Evansville and Illinois Railroad was amended to provide for the intersection of this railroad with the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad at Vincennes instead of at Olney.<sup>66</sup>

Grading and construction work began on the new road in 1850, three years before the Wabash and Erie Canal reached Evansville. The work progressed so rapidly that two years later trains were running between Evansville and Princeton. The story is told that a great throng of people assembled in Princeton to watch for the coming of the first train, which was scheduled to arrive at eleven o'clock. The engine was completely covered with flags. Judge Samuel Hall, president

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<sup>64</sup>*History of Vanderburgh County*, pp. 77-78 (1889).

<sup>65</sup>*Laws of Indiana* (local), 1848-49, pp. 273-85.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, 1849-50, pp. 350-54.



of the company and builder of the railroad, made a speech from the tender of the engine. Not one in a hundred of those present had ever seen a railroad engine before.<sup>67</sup>

In 1852 the company decided to extend the road to Vincennes, a distance of fifty-three miles from Evansville, and beyond that to Terre Haute and Crawfordsville.<sup>68</sup> At Vincennes the Evansville and Illinois Railroad connected with the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, a trunk line from Cincinnati to St. Louis.<sup>69</sup> In December, 1854 trains were running between Terre Haute and Evansville, a distance of one hundred nine miles. At Terre Haute, the Evansville and Illinois Railroad joined with the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad to the east and with the Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis Railroad to the west. By means of the Evansville and Illinois—the name of which had been changed to the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad—intersecting these great east and west trunk lines,<sup>70</sup> Evansville was brought into direct communication with the North and East with a quite noticeable effect upon its commercial growth.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. II, p. 729 (Indianapolis, 1918); Stormont, *History of Gibson County*, p. 103.

<sup>68</sup>On February 8, 1851 the legislature passed an act which provided "That the Evansville and Illinois Railroad Company be and they are hereby authorized and empowered to survey, locate and extend said railway from Princeton, in Gibson county, to Indianapolis, in Marion county." *Laws of Indiana* (local) 1851, pp. 535-38.

<sup>69</sup>The building of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad was authorized by the Indiana Legislature February 14, 1848, was begun in 1851, and completed in 1858. This railroad is now a part of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway system.

<sup>70</sup>Stormont, *History of Gibson County*, pp. 103-4.

<sup>71</sup>On March 4, 1853 the Indiana Legislature passed an act containing the following provision, whereas, "the several companies organized under the 'act to incorporate the Evansville and Illinois railroad company,' have consolidated their charters and have become one company, subject to the liabilities and privileges of the said several charters, and in and by their act of consolidation have adopted the name of Evansville and Illinois Railroad Company as their corporate name. Therefore, *Be it enacted* . . . that the corporate name and style of said company, as adopted in the act consolidating said several companies, is hereby changed, and henceforth the said company shall be called and known by the name of the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad Company." *Laws of Indiana*, 1853, p. 111.

In April, 1860 the citizens of Evansville were asked to contribute \$10,000 of the \$20,000 needed to insure the extension of the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad to Attica where it would form a junction with the Toledo, Wabash, and Western Railroad. This system, when completed, would connect Evansville with the Great Lakes and eastern cities by a more efficient means of transportation than the Wabash and Erie Canal.<sup>72</sup> This railroad would also tend to divert the southbound freight from St. Louis to Evansville. The project to extend the railroad to Attica at this time proved unsuccessful.

The Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad was financially successful. Two passenger trains and as many freight trains as needed to handle the traffic were run daily. All trains made direct connection with the intersecting roads at Vincennes and Terre Haute. The service on this railroad was so superior to the Wabash and Erie Canal that business gradually shifted from the canal to the railroad. It is contended today by the great railroad corporations of our country that if one takes everything into account, he will find that the railroad is a more economical means of transportation than the canal.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Foster, *Annual Report of the Board of Trade for Evansville in 1867*, p. 143.

<sup>73</sup>The Erie Canal, although considered the most efficient of our canals, is more expensive than railroads, for in 1909 the cost of the Erie Canal to the state of New York was \$672,105; the estimate of traffic carried this year was 435,000,000 ton miles; the cost of maintenance to the state was, per ton mile .....1.55 mills. Charges by boatman per ton mile .....2.00 mills. Apportionment of the aggregate annual cost of capital to the ton mileage .....5.06 mills. Total cost of Canal per ton mile of traffic .....8.61 mills.

In the same year the average cost of freight over the railroads was as follows:—New York Central, 6.2 mills per ton mile; Erie, 6.1; Lackawanna 7.4; Lehigh, 6.4. Thus it is shown that the Canal costs exceed those of the railroads by from 16 to 40 per cent. Bureau of Railway Economics, *The Cost of Transportation on the Erie Canal and By Rail*, Bulletin No. 21 (Washington, 1911).

Each successive year of the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad marked a gradual growth of trade with the North.<sup>74</sup> The following figures will show the extent of tobacco shipments to Evansville over the railroad:

In 1857 .....	200 hogsheads
1858 .....	1,500 hogsheads
1859 .....	3,200 hogsheads
1860 .....	7,000 hogsheads
1867 .....	33,656 hogsheads

The increasing annual receipts of tobacco is a fair criterion whereby one may judge the growing importance of this railroad to the business of Evansville.

The importance of the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad, on the eve of the Civil War, in saving the "pocket" district of Indiana for the Union, is difficult to determine. Services on the lower Wabash and Erie Canal had declined until it could be used for shipments to local points only; markets to the South were entirely destroyed and traffic on the rivers was extremely hazardous. The only hope of trade at this time was with the North and East, and to these points the railroad furnished the means of transportation.

In the early fifties there was much agitation on the part of certain influential citizens of Evansville and Indianapolis for a direct railroad connecting the two cities. Out of this agitation, in 1854, there grew a company with Oliver H. Smith, of Indianapolis, president and Willard Carpenter, of Evansville, vice-president and general manager. Mr. Carpenter hoped by means of the "Straight Line" Railroad to connect Indianapolis with Evansville, which would be in turn connected with the South by means of the Henderson and Nashville Railroad, the tracks of which were at that time being laid in Kentucky. Work was soon started, and during the years 1855 and 1856 the grading

<sup>74</sup>On March 5, 1877 the name of the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad was changed to that of the Evansville and Terre Haute Railroad by an act of the Indiana legislature. *Laws of Indiana*, 1877, p. 115.

In 1911 the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad System acquired control of the Evansville and Terre Haute Railroad and the Evansville Belt Railroad. S. Clyde Lacey, "The Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad Company Receivership," p. 6 (a master's thesis, Indiana University).

was completed from Evansville to Washington, Indiana, a distance of fifty-five miles, at a cost of \$475,000. The road bed was made ready for the rails. These were not available in the United States in those days; but were imported from England.

Mr. Carpenter sailed for England with his pockets filled with bonds, expecting no trouble in securing the necessary iron for the tracks. He made purchases at the Peabody Bank in London, but the negotiation fell through when pamphlets attacking the proposed railroad and its promoters came to the attention of the parties concerned. These had been circulated through the instrumentality of John Ingle, then president of the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad. Carpenter finally made a contract with Verse, Perkins & Co., "agreeing to pay to them \$12,000 of mortgage bonds per mile upon the roadbed; \$100,000 of real estate bonds and \$100,000 of Evansville city bonds which the city had subscribed but had not delivered. All except the city bonds he had with him."<sup>75</sup> Opponents of the project, however, prevented the council from issuing and delivering the bonds. Carpenter's credit was shattered; he was unable to gain public confidence, and the principal result of the enterprise was the loss of money and land which had been subscribed, much of it by small property owners. There is every reason to think that if it could have been carried out on a sound basis it would have given Evansville communication with the region to the northeast, and possibly with the South, which would have accelerated its commercial growth.

## CHIEF ARTICLES OF COMMERCE

The statement of the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad receipts in Evansville for 1860, with a little explanation, will give one a clear conception of the importance of the railroad to Evansville as a receiving center for northern shipments.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>*Biographical History of Eminent and Self-made Men of the State of Indiana*, Vol. I, p. 14, First Congressional District (Western Biographical Society, Cincinnati, 1880). This gives Mr. Carpenter's account of the affair.

<sup>76</sup>See Table VI in the Appendix.

Animals listed were chiefly cattle, sheep, mules, and horses; hogs are not included. Some were sold on the Evansville market, while others were shipped directly by steamboats to the markets of the southern states, principally to New Orleans. Beef was not shipped during the summer months, as refrigerator cars were not yet in use.

Coal reached Evansville chiefly *via* the Wabash and Erie Canal from points not far distant from the city. In 1859, the last year in which canal statistics are available, twenty-six thousand, six hundred eight bushels of coal arrived in Evansville over the canal, and only one hundred eighty-two bushels were shipped out. In 1860 thirty-eight thousand ninety bushels of coal arrived over the railroad, which points to the conclusion that the bulk of Evansville's earlier coal supply came in over the canal.

Evansville received a great quantity of coffee from the eastern markets *via* the trunk lines which intersected the Evansville and Crawfordsville Railroad. There was never a noticeable tendency to ship coffee over the canal from Toledo to Evansville. During the seven years from 1853 to 1859 only eleven hundred ten sacks of coffee arrived at Evansville *via* the canal, whereas in the year 1860 alone, two thousand forty-three sacks came in over the railroad. Evansville was the distributing center for coffee throughout the Green River valley and the "pocket" district of Indiana. The position of Evansville as a distributing center for coffee in southern Indiana may be seen by referring to Table V, "Canal Clearances," in the Appendix.

Perhaps 1860 was the greatest year for Evansville's wheat market. Big shipments of wheat and corn arrived during this year. But with the opening of the war and the loss of New Orleans market the farmers of the Wabash and White river valleys began to ship to the eastern markets *via* the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. Evansville's milling industry suffered.

Before the war Evansville was considered one of the most important corn markets of the country. The bulk of the corn from the valleys of White, lower Wabash, and Green rivers was shipped to Evansville, which in turn served as a distributing



center of corn to the southern markets, the most important of which was New Orleans. In 1857 Evansville exported two hundred twenty-eight thousand one hundred eighty-six bushels of corn to the South. The outbreak of the war nearly destroyed this corn trade, but the government gave temporary relief by establishing a quartermaster's department in the city to feed the army. This took a large quantity of corn. From 1857 to 1867 Evansville's corn trade increased ninefold and her exports became the greatest of any point on the Ohio River as may be shown by the following exports:<sup>77</sup>

From Louisville 1857 to 1867 .....	561,310 bushels
From Cincinnati 1857 to 1867 .....	135,119 bushels
From Evansville 1857 to 1867 .....	1,999,707 bushels

The average prices for corn from 1857 to 1867 were:<sup>78</sup>

1857 to 1858.....	\$0.42	1862 to 1863.....	\$0.53
1859 to 1860.....	0.50	1863 to 1864.....	1.03
1861 to 1862.....	0.31	1865 to 1866.....	0.54
1866 to 1867.....	\$0.79		

During the Civil War the drug and hardware business was greatly stimulated. In 1857, \$275,000 worth of business was done in these lines as compared with \$721,207 in 1867. Grocery business, however, suffered severely during the war as trade in products such as sugar, molasses, and rice from the South was cut off. In the North the current of shipment had turned eastward with the result that Evansville's grocery trade was nearly destroyed.

The success of Evansville as a hay market was based largely upon the demand of the southern states. This demand ceased with the opening of the war and another market of Evansville was destroyed.

A small number of hogs arrived in Evansville over the railroad in 1860. In 1859 no live hogs were shipped to the city *via* the Wabash and Erie Canal. That does not mean, however, that the city's population did not consume pork and lard, for in 1860 thirty-one hundred seventy-four kegs and two hundred

<sup>77</sup>Foster, *Annual Report of the Board of Trade for Evansville in 1867*, p. 65.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*

eighty-four barrels of lard; four hundred four casks and forty-one hundred thirty-five barrels of pork arrived in Evansville over the railroad; twenty-five hundred twenty barrels of pork and four hundred seventy-one barrels of lard came into the city from Green River from January to July, 1865. In January and February, 1860 the Wabash River packets contributed to the city twenty-four hundred seventy-five barrels of pork and five hundred seventeen kegs of lard. These figures explain the source of Evansville's pork and lard supply. Not all this supply was consumed in the city; much was shipped to the markets of the South. By examining a manifest of a New Orleans or Memphis bound packet one sees that pork and lard constituted a large portion of the cargo.

Potatoes were also moving southward. A study of the canal statistics for the years in which they are available will reveal the fact that thirty-five hundred thirty-eight bushels of potatoes arrived in Evansville, whereas only one hundred six bushels cleared for the northern stations and, possibly, these were for planting. In 1860 the local market received eleven thousand seventy-three bushels over the railroad; one may conclude that the bulk of potatoes arriving was consumed in the city, since very few large shipments are found going south.

Evansville occupied a very important place as a receiving and distributing center for salt between 1850 and 1860. Salt came here from New Orleans by steamer, thence northward over the railroad and canal. During the seven years for which canal statistics are available, twenty-five thousand three hundred twenty-one barrels of salt cleared the local canal port and were distributed to points all the way from Evansville to Terre Haute. Between July, 1856 and July, 1857 fifty-eight thousand eight hundred fourteen barrels of salt arrived in Evansville *via* railroad, steamboat, and canal.

The importance of Evansville as a sugar market has been discussed in a previous chapter.<sup>79</sup> In 1859 forty-eight tons of

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<sup>79</sup>See *ante*, pp. 334-35.

sugar were distributed to canal stations between Evansville and Covington.

The fact that Evansville is located in the heart of a tobacco raising district has made it a leading tobacco market. The large volume of tobacco arriving from the north prior to 1860 came over the canal from counties adjacent to Vanderburg. Warrick County, perhaps, raised more tobacco than all the other counties of Indiana combined. Green River valley also contributed a large quantity of this commodity to the local market.

Evansville always occupied a unique place among the distillery and brewery centers of the Middle West. As early as 1836 F. Kroener and Son established the "Old Brewery" on Fulton Avenue between Fifth and Sixth Streets. In 1853 Cook and Rice erected a large brewery, which was later enlarged to approximately four times its original size, on Seventh Street, between Main and Sycamore Streets. The demand for the products of breweries became so great that by 1867 there were eleven large breweries in the city, turning out ale, porter, and beer, each doing a lucrative business, chiefly in the markets to the South. In 1867 no less than twenty thousand seven hundred ninety barrels of beer and similar beverages were manufactured by the local breweries, a business valued at \$244,000. No beer or ale was brought into the city from an outside market. A very small quantity was shipped north on the canal, but the major output of the local breweries was distributed to the southern markets or consumed locally.<sup>80</sup>

Evansville's whiskey market was by no means small. In 1857 the local market exported twelve thousand nine hundred seventy-one barrels of whiskey. This was five times the amount exported the previous year.<sup>81</sup> In 1860 five thousand four hundred fifty-two barrels of spirits were shipped into Evansville over the railroad. In addition to this, local distilleries turned out large quantities. The exact liquor sales in the city

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<sup>80</sup>Foster, *Annual Report of the Board of Trade for Evansville in 1867*, p. 93.

<sup>81</sup>*Evansville Journal*, January 22, 1858.

can not be ascertained because the more conservative dealers did not report their sales. The city's chief markets for its whiskey were in southern Indiana, in southeastern Illinois, in the Green River region, in New Orleans, and in Memphis.

The following comparison of the exports of 1857 and 1867 shows the chief products for which Evansville was the receiving and distributing center and also the growth and decline of trade during these years in the commodities listed:

*Comparison of Evansville's Exports for Years 1857 and 1867.*<sup>82</sup>

	1857	1867
Corn (bu.)	228,186	1,999,707
Wheat (bu.)	52,699	89,192
Oats (bu.)	59,310	52,437
Pork (bbls.)	49,628	4,052
Flour (bbls.)	62,228	36,891
Whiskey (bbls.)	6,397	4,061
Hay (bales)	2,415	15,477
Tobacco (hhds.)	9,781	35,709
Cotton (bales)	0	44,564
Salt (bbls.)	58,814	92,927

During the decade 1857 to 1867 Evansville received corn, wheat, oats, pork, flour, and hay from the lower Wabash and White river valleys and distributed them to the southern markets. Salt and cotton arrived from the South and cleared for the northern markets, while whiskey and manufactured tobacco were shipped to the northern and southern markets.

## TRADE AND POLITICS

Evansville was, and is, the political as well as the commercial center of southwestern Indiana, or "The Pocket," as it is familiarly known. The only available gauge of political sentiment in the city for the years covered in this study is the tabulated report for Vanderburg County. As is natural, this vote shows strong sympathy with the Democratic party from the moment the rise of the Republican party gave a sectional alignment to national political organizations, but the extreme pro-

<sup>82</sup>Foster, *Annual Report of the Board of Trade for Evansville in 1867*, p. 105.

slavery element was not strong. In the elections of 1840, 1844, and 1848, the Whigs carried Vanderburg, the most important county in "The Pocket," but in the election of 1852, as elsewhere in the country, there were evidences of decline in the old Whig party in favor of the Democratic party. The Whig strength in 1840 was unusual. The election figures of 1844 and 1848 represent more nearly the normal strength of the two parties in the county. The accompanying figures will suffice to show the number of voters and the political complexion of Vanderburg County in the various presidential elections from 1840 to 1864.<sup>83</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Whig</i>	<i>Republican</i>	† <i>Americans</i> ( <i>Know-Nothings</i> ) ‡ <i>Union</i>
1840	370	628		
1844	556	675		
1848	667	734		
1852	1,322	941		
1856	1,880		372	†840
1860	1,542 (Northern Democrats)		1,867	‡302
	183 (Southern Democrats)			
1864	2,114		2,724	

Evansville has seldom witnessed a more hotly contested election than that of 1860. In the spring of that year when the news reached Spencer County that Lincoln had been made the presidential nominee of the new Republican party, excitement ran high. Long a resident of Spencer County, Lincoln had many friends there among the old settlers who delighted to meet at their accustomed rendezvous and tell with great gusto of the many times they had seen "Abe," barefooted and shabbily dressed, wielding his axe and laying siege to the mighty forest with all the strength of his brawny young arms. The old flat-boatmen claimed association with "Abe" in trips up and down the river. Evansville was the scene of a great torchlight parade on the night following the arrival of the news of Lincoln's nomination.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>83</sup>*History of Vanderburgh County*, pp. 67-68 (1889).

<sup>84</sup>*Evansville Journal*, May 24, 1860.



On May 21, 1860 the Republicans met at the courthouse for the joint purpose of stirring up enthusiasm and perfecting a working organization. At this gathering many short and rousing talks were given, at the conclusion of which John W. Foster, later to become a noted diplomat, introduced three resolutions that were adopted unanimously:

1. Resolved: That we candidly approve of the nomination of Lincoln and Hamlin.

2. Resolved: That we recognize them as the worthy standard bearers of that great national party whose aim it is to bring the government back to the principles of the Fathers of the Republic, and to drive from power the corrupt oligarchy whose extravagancies and misrule have brought the national treasury to poverty and prostituted the powers of the government to the extension of the curse of slavery.

3. Resolved: That we pledge ourselves to the support of the opposition state ticket and recognize it as one of the important duties of the citizens of the state of Indiana to accomplish a reform in the administration of the state government and a return to economy and honesty.<sup>85</sup>

The Democrats contended that Mr. Lincoln was an abolitionist and that his election to the presidency would mean the immediate freedom of the slaves. In answer to this contention, the *Evansville Journal*, local mouthpiece of the Republican party, spoke in defense of Lincoln by quoting from his speech in joint debate with Douglas at Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858:

Before proceeding let me say that I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them they would not now introduce it. If it did now exist among us we should not instantly give it up.<sup>86</sup>

In the same debate, Mr. Lincoln further said, when speaking of noninterference:

I have said a hundred times, and I have now no inclination to take it back, that I believe there is no right and ought to be no inclination in the people of the free states to enter into slave states and interfere with the question of slavery at all. I have said that always; Judge Douglas has heard me say it; and when it is said that I am in favor of interfering with slavery where it exists, I know it is unwarranted by anything I have intended, and I believe by anything I have ever said.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>*Evansville Journal*, May 22, 1860.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, May 31, 1860.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*

The summer and fall of 1860 brought the issues of the political campaign directly before the people and public interest rose to fever heat in Evansville. Throughout the nation this campaign was regarded as more important than any through which the country had passed. The Democratic party, hopelessly split into two discordant wings over the slavery issue, seemed unable to stem the tide of the rising Republican party. Then too, if the Republicans were successful in winning the election, what would be done with slavery? This was the question in the minds of multitudes of people in the South who threatened secession if the Republicans were successful at the November election.

Lincoln was elected and, after the secession movement started, disloyal sentiment sprang up in Evansville. The period from November, 1860 until April, 1861 might be termed a very critical period in the history of the city. It was a time when sentiment was divided between the North and the South. When the North had finally taken its stand for the Union, however, Southern sentiment was repressed and sympathizers were handled with severity in Evansville.

One living today can scarcely appreciate the peculiar situation of the Evansville people at the outbreak of the Civil War. In the years preceding the struggle they had looked upon the Southern people with a great deal of friendly feeling. They had carried on extensive trade with those areas contiguous to the Green, Cumberland, and Tennessee rivers, and were therefore in a condition to understand the political, economic, and social sentiment prevailing among the people south of the Ohio, whereas most of the people who lived farther away in the North and East, being removed from direct contact with the South, could regard its pro-slavery sentiment and disunion threats only with a spirit of animosity.

During the struggle Evansville contributed many soldiers to the Union cause. Her men were represented in twenty-six different regiments; colored troops were organized, and a company of home guards, consisting of men too old for military service, drilled in Sunset Park and held themselves in readiness

to repel any attack upon the city. One evening the report came to the city that General John Morgan, the Southern raider, was maneuvering across the river from Newburg and contemplating an immediate attack upon Evansville. The valuables of the city were carefully hidden, and the home guard went into camp keeping a careful vigil until morning. A few days later it was reported that Morgan was moving towards Cincinnati.<sup>88</sup>

A colleague of Morgan's, General Adam Johnson, captured Newburg, near Evansville, on July 18, 1862. He crossed the Ohio in skiffs and ferry boats, captured the peaceful little town, including hospitals and military stores, and withdrew without firing a shot. While there, General Johnson informed the populace that a battery had been planted on the Kentucky shore preparatory to shelling the town should it offer resistance. But whatever artillery there was on the Kentucky side proved both harmless and unnecessary, for the inhabitants not only offered no resistance, but many left town with their valuables. Soon the report of Newburg's predicament reached Evansville and reinforcements were immediately sent to the relief of the town, but nothing of consequence came from either of these expeditions except the destruction of the boats in which the enemy had crossed the river and the shooting of two citizens charged with being rebel sympathizers. The *London Times*, in commenting upon the attempted northern invasion by Generals Morgan and Johnson, reported the capture of "the great tobacco port of Henderson, Kentucky," and of Newburg, "an important town north of the Ohio River" adding that this news immediately had a "bullish" effect upon the price of tobacco in England.<sup>89</sup>

During the war a camp in Blackford's Grove near Evansville was established as a station for the relief of the wounded and destitute. This was in charge of Mr. J. P. Elliott, trustee of

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<sup>88</sup>Gilbert, *History of Evansville and Vanderburg County*, Vol. I, p. 278.

<sup>89</sup>Raleigh, Mrs. Eldora Minor, "The Early Days of Newburgh On-The-Ohio," in *Proceedings of Southwestern Indiana Historical Society*, pp. 29-30 (*Bulletin* No. 18, Indiana Historical Commission, Indianapolis, October, 1923).

Pigeon Creek Township. Many times there were as many as two hundred fifty men, women, and children in the camp who were provided with food and clothing by the people of Vanderburg County. Two hundred loads of cordwood were brought in by the farmers of the country and stored in Seventh Street Park for the use of the wives and mothers of those who had gone to the front. Steamboat loads of wounded and half-starved prisoners were brought to Evansville *via* Green River and sent on to the northern hospitals and prisons. The wounded from both sides after the bloody battle of Shiloh were brought to Evansville for hospital service. It was then that Evansville got a glimpse of the real meaning of the war with all its mangling and destruction of human life.<sup>90</sup>

In view of the close connection of Evansville with the South in trade, in kinship, and in social intercourse, the question of her loyalty to the Union cause demands consideration. A study of contemporary sources shows that she aligned herself emphatically with her own state and the national government. Whether the reason is to be found in the greater strength of her economic and social ties with the North or in the prevalence of political sentiment for national unity we are not in a position to determine accurately. Doubtless both elements contributed strongly to her attitude. At any rate, the following lines of evidence seem conclusive:

First, statistics of enlistment. These will show that the number of enlisted soldiers and volunteers from "The Pocket" region was as large in proportion to its population as from anywhere else in Indiana.<sup>91</sup>

Second, draft resistance. This was found to be no greater than elsewhere in the state.

Third, the number and loyalty of the home guard. This organization was composed, as heretofore stated, of men who were too old for active service. When the safety of the city was threatened, these men responded to the call.

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<sup>90</sup>Gilbert, *History of Evansville and Vanderburg County*, Vol. I, p. 279.

<sup>91</sup>Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. II, p. 777.

Fourth, acts of treasonable violence. To be sure some of these acts were in evidence, but similar acts were committed in other localities over the state.

Fifth, the Southern raiders, Johnson, Hines, and Morgan, failed to find sympathy in the Evansville district and moved up the river towards Louisville and Cincinnati where they hoped to find people in a more receptive mood.

Sixth, the Knights of the Golden Circle were not only no more numerous here than in other places of Indiana, but did not even have a chapter here.

If one refers to the Indiana roster of the Knights of the Golden Circle he will find proof of the statement that no marked disloyalty existed in Evansville and the immediately surrounding area during the war. The Knights of the Golden Circle, organized by Dr. George Bickey, professor of medicine in Cincinnati, spread rapidly through the North Central States. The rosters of the several states show the membership to be as follows: Michigan, 20,000; Ohio, 40,000; Illinois and Missouri, 100,000 each; Indiana (leading all the states), 125,000. One can readily see from the foregoing figures that sympathy with the South was very common throughout much of the state of Indiana. The following figures will give a clear idea as to where the branches of the Knights of the Golden Circle existed in the state:<sup>92</sup>

<i>County</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Branches</i>
Grant .....	201	6
Clay .....	194	3
Harrison .....	615	11
Washington .....	1,100	10
Vigo .....	500	5
Brown .....	322	4
Fountain .....	373	10
Sullivan .....	600	10
Marion .....	75	1
Parke .....	533	7
Vermilion .....	135	3

Other chapters were established in the counties of Jennings, Martin, Daviess, and Orange, but no full reports from them

<sup>92</sup>Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. II, pp. 792-93.



were available. Despite the large membership of this society in Indiana, it was poorly organized and therefore ineffective.<sup>93</sup>

Normally and quite naturally, one finds most of the criticism of the current administration in state and nation in those sections of the country where the opposition party is strongest. In the southern counties of Indiana there were more pro-slavery Democrats than farther north, people who had migrated from across the river and many of whom brought their pro-slavery sentiments with them. However, the true Jacksonian Democrats remained strong for the Union. The Southern Indiana towns lost their commercial advantages that depended on the South during the Civil War. Cannelton, to take a notable instance, through its lucrative stone trade with the South, was said, in January, 1861, to be more closely associated with the South than it was with the North. Nevertheless, when the draft of 1862 came, it took not a single man, as the county's quota had already been filled by voluntary enlistments.<sup>94</sup>

The presence in these towns of a numerous and powerful element whose political principles and affiliations were those of the Democratic party did not in any marked degree affect the alignment nor the participation of their citizens in the Civil War.

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<sup>93</sup>Fesler, Mayo, "Secret Political Societies in the North during the Civil War," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, p. 214 (September, 1918).

<sup>94</sup>Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. II, p. 777n.



## APPENDIX

### TABLE I

STEAMBOAT ARRIVALS FROM JANUARY, 1861, TO DECEMBER, 1867.<sup>1</sup>

The "arrivals" include but one landing of packets per week only.

	No. of arrivals	Passed with- out stopping	In gov't service
<b>1861</b>			
January 14-31 .....	113	9	....
February .....	228	40	....
March .....	247	51	....
April .....	119	42	....
May .....	98	25	....
June .....	78	13	....
July .....	86	2	....
August .....	102	....	6
September .....	76	....	....
October .....	84	2	....
November .....	133	2	....
December .....	129	13	....
Total for 1861.....	1493	199	6
<b>1862</b>			
January .....	111	5	....
February .....	98	5	....
March .....	97	25	....
April .....	141	40	....
May .....	234	39	....
June .....	221	35	....
July .....	178	28	....
August .....	147	15	....
September .....	70	3	....
October .....	40	....	....
November .....	48	6	....
December .....	129	26	....
Total for 1862.....	1514	227	....
<b>1863</b>			
January .....	93	....	....
February .....	78	43	151
March .....	117	36	123
April .....	94	27	86
May .....	185	34	148
June .....	165	17	....
July .....	127	11	131
August .....	123	13	....
September .....	114	5	33
October .....	107	3	32
November .....	131	18	74
December .....	161	43	123
Total for 1863.....	1495	250	901

<sup>1</sup>Foster, *Annual Report of the Board of Trade for Evansville in 1867*, p. 59.  
See *ante* in section "The Early Packet Lines," p. 332.

TABLE I—Steamboat Arrivals (Continued)

1864	No. of arrivals	Passed with- out stopping	In gov't service
January .....	59	5	22
February .....	104	20	38
March .....	270	46	18
April .....	262	60	12
May .....	272	38	33
June .....	221	....	....
July .....	137	4	31
August .....	110	5	84
September .....	139	13	90
October .....	163	26	42
November .....	195	36	24
December .....	172	47	62
Total for 1864.....	2104	300	456
1865			
January .....	132	35	69
February .....	183	33	59
March .....	269	45	55
April .....	323	70	30
May .....	276	....	....
June .....	184	59	44
July .....	202	18	50
August .....	213	19	10
September .....	192	15	3
October .....	169	7	2
November .....	189	13	5
December .....	240	18	6
Total for 1865.....	2572	332	333
1866			
January .....	244	38	1
February .....	229	20	....
March .....	258	43	....
April .....	242	....	....
May .....	232	30	....
June .....	224	16	....
July .....	186	20	....
August .....	152	13	....
September .....	151	13	....
October .....	189	33	....
November .....	190	30	....
December .....	210	33	....
Total for 1866 .....	2097	222	1

TABLE I—Steamboat Arrivals (Continued)

1867	No. of arrivals	Passed without stopping	In gov't service
January .....	59	3	....
February .....	209	17	....
March .....	235	26	....
April .....	264	48	....
May .....	304	52	....
June .....	264	43	....
July .....	196	11	....
August .....	179	....	....
September .....	130	2	....
October .....	94	2	....
November .....	163	8	....
December .....	....	....	....
Total for 1867.....	2097	212	....

TABLE II

STEAMBOAT CONSTRUCTION ON THE WESTERN RIVERS FROM 1855 TO 1870.<sup>2</sup>

Date	Pittsburgh		Cincinnati		Louisville		Western Rivers	
	No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage
1855	51	10,059.35	19	5,670.93	27	9,402.77	116	30,926.03
1856	60	12,329.57	28	8,427.51	18	5,042.22	138	32,632.65
1857	70	12,929.35	33	9,469.87	28	8,462.46	163	37,080.30
1858	53	9,541.13	20	5,646.54	28	8,302.74	127	31,481.40
1859	29	4,199.21	17	3,703.46	19	3,702.47	85	13,838.52
1860	69	10,811.01	30	5,201.49	29	8,631.78	162	32,432.03
1861	47	9,558.35	31	4,327.86	33	9,717.29	146	30,459.57
1862	25	3,174.40	4	436.84	3	1,042.32	49	6,653.34
1863	57	12,075.72	35	5,708.11	22	5,920.31	118	21,721.76
1864	86	17,194.03	55	12,691.40	15	5,530.05	206	44,656.06
1865	66	15,845.06	51	15,925.44	30	6,924.76	187	50,081.84
1866	63	15,921.70	40	14,389.38	21	7,470.23	153	46,755.49
1867	27	9,511.39	13	4,575.79	20	6,834.28	63	18,551.74
1868	20	4,728.33	9	1,243.19	21	7,582.63	93	20,742.46
1869	18	5,843.88	6	3,460.90	10	3,267.54	79	21,022.75
1870	26	9,881.95	19	6,841.35	28	12,138.90	116	35,506.15

<sup>2</sup>Purdy, T. C., "Report on Steam Navigation in the United States," p. 14, *Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives*, 2 session, 47 Congress, Vol. XIII, Part 4 (Washington, 1883). See *ante* in section, "The Early Packet Lines," pp. 330ff.; see also p. 340.



TABLE III  
TOLLS AND WATER RENTS RECEIVED ON THE WABASH AND ERIE CANAL

December 1, 1852, to December 1, 1853.<sup>3</sup>

Offices	Dec.-June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Total
Evansville .....	\$.....	\$.....	\$.....	\$ 76.60	\$ 151.50	\$ 182.72	\$ 410.82
Worthington .....	752.27	181.39	39.75	31.93	77.70	312.80	1,395.84
Terre Haute .....	3,407.35	906.81	715.71	1,015.59	1,156.28	913.30	8,115.04
Covington .....	6,093.91	1,482.48	1,927.06	2,996.00	2,714.62	2,118.27	17,332.34
Lafayette .....	25,467.93	4,645.30	6,636.93	7,757.87	7,192.64	6,712.79	58,413.46
Logansport .....	7,630.47	920.84	2,459.43	3,765.17	3,396.32	1,418.59	19,290.82
Lagro .....	4,051.83	996.18	1,098.86	1,738.37	1,640.37	799.67	10,325.28
Ft. Wayne .....	19,741.08	6,196.71	8,395.99	9,883.23	11,344.74	10,361.63	65,923.38
Total .....	\$67,144.84	\$15,329.71	\$20,973.73	\$27,264.76	\$27,674.17	\$22,819.77	\$181,206.98

December 1, 1854, to December 1, 1855.<sup>4</sup>

Offices	Dec.-June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Total
Evansville .....	\$ 2,726.49	\$ 324.91	\$ 255.19	\$ 334.47	\$ 520.94	\$ 456.50	\$ 4,618.50
Petersburg .....	888.86	55.00	138.35	167.80	559.67	298.67	2,108.35
Worthington .....	277.18	29.21	29.50	307.00	1,014.42	410.78	2,068.09
Terre Haute .....	1,852.47	357.55	780.38	1,253.53	841.33	532.76	5,618.02
Covington .....	5,445.28	644.55	1,123.16	1,608.40	1,689.98	1,408.16	11,919.53
Lafayette .....	15,849.67	3,814.56	7,083.52	7,134.64	5,572.30	4,565.17	44,019.86
Logansport .....	8,773.46	827.45	2,041.74	2,738.56	1,385.31	2,970.60	18,737.12
Lagro .....	4,655.33	546.75	1,494.95	1,241.98	1,483.86	1,053.63	10,476.50
Ft. Wayne .....	11,151.06	3,761.96	5,037.33	8,028.84	6,465.88	6,388.49	40,833.56
Total .....	\$51,619.80	\$10,361.94	\$17,984.12	\$22,815.22	\$19,533.69	\$18,084.76	\$140,399.53

<sup>3</sup>Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal," p. 48, *Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1853.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 1856, Part II, p. 300. The tables as here given are summarized from December to June.

December 1, 1858, to December 1, 1859.<sup>5</sup>

Offices	Dec.-June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Total
Evansville .....	\$ 1,973.93	24.60	\$.....	\$ 786.58	\$ 259.03	\$ 825.20	\$ 3,869.34
Petersburg .....	1,290.14	75.95	.....	6.40	103.21	829.32	2,305.02
Newberry .....	201.76	22.10	.....	26.20	.....	38.80	288.86
Worthington .....	635.45	70.43	98.69	80.40	165.57	231.43	1,281.97
Terre Haute .....	356.30	136.49	210.46	277.03	346.69	344.34	1,671.31
Covington .....	3,303.43	33.35	434.18	449.76	912.65	1,599.95	6,633.32
Lafayette .....	4,598.06	308.66	873.20	1,260.91	1,261.87	1,545.91	9,848.61
Logansport .....	2,042.87	58.04	1,237.78	850.38	927.69	753.40	5,870.16
Lagro .....	1,586.22	7.15	971.02	625.70	749.98	448.55	4,388.62
Ft. Wayne .....	5,049.61	193.95	1,246.11	1,910.44	1,997.62	1,723.16	12,120.89
Total .....	\$20,937.77	\$ 930.72	\$ 5,071.44	\$ 6,273.80	\$ 6,724.31	\$ 8,340.06	\$ 48,278.10

(383)

December 1, 1859, to December 1, 1860.<sup>6</sup>

Offices	Dec.-June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Total
Evansville .....	\$ 2,909.93	\$ 364.22	\$.....	\$ 178.18	\$ 258.59	\$ 275.27	\$ 3,986.19
Petersburg .....	1,285.68	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,285.68
Newberry .....	841.19	6.87	.....	.....	.....	.....	848.06
Worthington .....	621.12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	621.12
Terre Haute .....	2,146.38	365.50	380.25	425.06	704.15	443.37	4,464.71
Covington .....	4,437.32	2,009.41	2,590.47	1,851.45	2,072.57	1,322.49	14,283.71
Lafayette .....	5,912.18	2,269.50	1,534.07	1,784.84	1,798.21	1,176.19	14,474.99
Lagro .....	2,876.15	801.27	1,545.44	1,318.88	971.29	367.09	7,880.12
Logansport .....	3,590.63	755.40	1,637.54	1,623.90	1,233.53	508.23	9,349.23
Ft. Wayne .....	5,847.31	1,095.01	2,126.33	2,158.39	2,021.54	1,599.05	14,847.61
Total .....	\$30,467.89	\$ 7,667.18	\$ 9,814.10	\$ 9,340.70	\$ 9,059.88	\$ 5,691.67	\$ 72,041.42

<sup>5</sup>*Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1859, Part I, p. 321.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 1860, Part I, p. 290. These tables are summarized from December to June. See *ante*, section "The Canal in Operation," pp. 349-56.

TABLE IV

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF COMMON ARTICLES TRANSPORTED ON THE WABASH AND ERIE CANAL, WHICH ARRIVED AT EVANSVILLE FROM AUG. 1, 1853, TO CLOSE OF NAVIGATION IN THE YEAR 1859.<sup>7</sup>

Articles	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	Total
(Barrels)								
Ale and Beer .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	40
Beef .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	.....	112	130
Green Apples .....	97	182	149	.....	.....	64	20	512
Flour .....	154	253	2,842	3,894	8,422	18,993	11,365	45,923
Lime .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oil .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	2
Pork .....	.....	533	1,024	1,507	986	1,829	585	6,464
Salt—fine .....	.....	.....	1,024	368	400	.....	.....	1,792
Salt—coarse .....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10
Whiskey .....	.....	.....	19	.....	7	722	.....	748
Tar .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	38	.....	38
Vinegar .....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	5
Fish—fresh water .....	.....	7	4	.....	.....	3	.....	14
Fish—salt water .....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	9
(Bushels)								
Beans .....	.....	154	40	590	.....	117	22	923
Corn .....	.....	42,805	43,207	14,343	10,166	8,577	3,496	122,594
Meal .....	45	160	314	378	245	.....	79	1,221
Oats .....	4,674	5,278	5,695	4,303	2,588	1,927	100	24,565
Potatoes .....	139	2,474	522	311	675	63	.....	4,184
Rye .....	.....	4	40	80	.....	92	21	237
Seeds .....	29	59	170	24	41	218	10	551
Wheat .....	3,305	13,154	43,264	40,463	52,075	77,193	26,284	255,738
Coal .....	.....	.....	14,200	33,700	46,042	34,269	26,608	154,819
(Pounds)								
Agricultural implements .....	450	.....	1,213	540	200	400	600	3,403
Animals, except Hogs.....	2,300	11,200	25,636	6,025	34,710	154,705	20,850	255,426
Bacon and Pork.....	.....	68,926	478,387	658,219	785,001	816,304	491,396	3,298,232
Baggage and Furniture.....	5,580	4,550	3,015	6,950	1,185	.....	.....	21,280

<sup>7</sup>The complete tables appear in the "Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal," in the *Indiana Documentary Journal* for the years 1853-59. See *ante* in section "The Canal in Operation," pp. 356-58.

*Articles*

(Pounds)

	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	Total
Butter .....	1,275	6,079	.....	240	2,132	2,890	131	12,747
Cheese .....	.....	1,200	.....	.....	.....	287	.....	1,487
Cordage .....	.....	.....	.....	300	.....	.....	.....	300
Candles .....	.....	.....	96	.....	.....	.....	.....	96
Cotton Yarns .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,305	1,305
Clocks .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Crockery .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dye Stuffs .....	.....	800	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	800
Dried Fruit .....	1,240	15,470	543	4,866	640	15,671	11,000	49,430
Eggs .....	150	25,940	5,210	6,700	33,511	73,166	13,500	158,177
Feathers .....	50	2,355	6,120	3,573	3,457	1,415	2,385	19,355
Glass and Glassware .....	.....	100	800	.....	.....	200	1,100	1,100
Grease .....	.....	.....	10,080	9,589	12,539	9,577	9,300	51,085
Hay .....	73,600	212,710	.....	164,704	162,288	395,550	478,476	1,487,328
Hides and Skins .....	.....	986	2,380	8,782	2,499	5,364	9,270	29,281
Hogs—live .....	.....	8,800	25,070	3,129	8,600	35,372	.....	80,971
Iron—pig .....	94,000	380,200	366,000	472,500	39,651	31,105	.....	1,383,456
Iron—bar .....	510	256	262	200	.....	.....	.....	1,228
Iron—cast .....	.....	9,700	16,433	2,930	.....	960	.....	30,023
Lard .....	.....	61,006	119,374	343,537	254,458	311,168	105,000	1,194,543
Leather .....	.....	400	62,671	234	.....	820	.....	64,125
Lead .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,585	.....	8,585
Machinery .....	.....	28,880	6,977	9,700	.....	.....	6,000	51,557
Coffee .....	160	.....	.....	165	160	625	.....	1,110
Millstones .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Molasses .....	500	13,700	4,400	1,850	8,211	550	.....	29,211
Carpenters and Joiners Work .....	.....	.....	116,496	.....	.....	18,478	.....	134,974
Shorts and Ship Stuff .....	.....	22,072	34,564	6,152	5,555	296,885	111,631	476,859
Sugar .....	.....	1,400	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,400
Tobacco .....	65,149	644,449	374,744	383,950	247,330	1,211,944	827,395	3,754,961
(Miscellaneous)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hoop Poles (No.) .....	.....	17,100	6,485	6,750	30,752	63,059	172,000	296,146
Staves and Headings (No.) .....	12,330	65,030	60,425	16,250	145,494	142,605	253,193	695,327
Shingles (No.) .....	5,000	143,000	159,500	93,000	14,000	190,198	119,000	723,698

TABLE V

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF COMMON ARTICLES TRANSPORTED ON THE WABASH AND ERIE CANAL, WHICH CLEARED AT EVANSVILLE FROM AUG. 1, 1853, TO CLOSE OF NAVIGATION IN THE YEAR 1859.<sup>s</sup>

Articles	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	Total
(Barrels)								
Ale and Beer .....	6	118	50	78	.....	83	50	385
Beef .....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3
Green Apples .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Flour .....	6	59	10	19	12	12	6	124
Lime .....	14	677	107	1,358	4,217	2,857	94	9,324
Oil .....	5	8	64	53	28	9	22	189
Pork .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	7
Salt—fine .....	372	2,278	5,070	2,956	6,219	5,354	3,124	25,373
Salt—coarse .....	.....	18	4,152	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,170
Whiskey .....	56	565	417	577	566	.....	469	2,650
Tar .....	4	35	171	43	57	38	35	383
Vinegar .....	4	30	90	64	71	83	44	386
Fish—fresh water .....	.....	22	103	3	.....	29	8	165
Fish—salt water .....	.....	.....	.....	63	203	.....	.....	266
(Bushels)								
Beans .....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	2	6
Corn .....	.....	.....	.....	150	.....	.....	.....	150
Meal .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33	.....	.....	33
Oats .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	782	.....	782
Potatoes .....	.....	.....	37	1	131	.....	68	237
Rye .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	101	.....	101
Seeds .....	.....	35	210	36	51	.....	37	369
Wheat .....	.....	.....	.....	292	.....	2,800	.....	3,092
Coal .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	182	.....	.....	182
(Pounds)								
Agricultural implements .....	2,075	14,048	46,224	11,570	8,070	16,715	17,036	115,738
Animals, except Hogs .....	.....	.....	550	.....	.....	.....	306	856
Bacon and Pork .....	.....	2,676	3,999	8,679	644	700	.....	16,698
Baggage and Furniture .....	7,636	27,344	37,011	76,640	31,467	21,410	29,300	230,808

<sup>s</sup>The complete tables appear in the "Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal," in the *Indiana Documentary Journal* for the years 1853-59. See *ante* in section "The Canal in Operation," pp. 356-58.



Articles

(Pounds)

	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	Total
Butter .....	.....	.....	740	.....	.....	.....	.....	740
Cheese .....	125	2,082	2,669	2,636	975	780	.....	9,267
Cordage .....	435	7,766	247,237	3,933	1,796	1,444	.....	262,611
Candles .....	.....	2,225	8,396	5,539	2,258	1,258	.....	19,676
Cotton Yarns .....	270	7,378	6,380	2,351	3,947	830	1,305	22,461
Clocks .....	150	600	1,600	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,350
Crockery .....	1,155	16,438	52,815	25,221	26,605	13,312	31,158	166,704
Dye Stuffs .....	123	2,443	6,170	1,402	361	.....	.....	10,499
Dried Fruit .....	150	.....	.....	150	.....	350	.....	650
Eggs .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Feathers .....	.....	.....	230	.....	.....	46	.....	276
Glass and Glassware .....	6,454	10,154	32,437	16,718	40,175	4,800	5,700	116,438
Grease .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hay .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hides and Skins .....	.....	.....	614	.....	.....	.....	.....	614
Hogs—live .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Iron—pig .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Iron—bar .....	4,346	44,104	155,742	124,000	76,115	55,710	30,350	30,000
Iron—cast .....	5,188	61,730	185,518	92,423	117,357	80,734	9,330	490,367
Lard .....	.....	208	764	.....	655	.....	.....	552,280
Leather .....	200	1,959	8,609	3,923	1,624	.....	1,670	1,627
Lead .....	252	2,301	6,209	1,482	748	.....	.....	17,985
Machinery .....	.....	84,158	159,942	89,204	.....	.....	.....	10,992
Coffee .....	16,414	100,405	133,197	133,197	100,514	77,728	65,280	398,584
Millstones .....	.....	3,500	45,256	9,410	4,000	.....	93,363	521,621
Molasses .....	28,200	626,217	734,447	273,166	239,753	402,597	350,508	2,654,888
Carpenters and Joiners Work .....	.....	2,360	.....	19,560	17,119	10,803	.....	62,166
Shorts and Ship Stuff .....	.....	300	.....	.....	.....	1,000	.....	49,842
Sugar .....	16,652	305,215	538,060	195,752	163,023	79,953	95,639	1,394,294
Tobacco .....	1,583	8,782	31,835	17,052	10,139	5,109	1,688	76,188
(Miscellaneous)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hoop Poles (No.) .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Staves and Headings (No.) .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	460	.....	460
Shingles (No.) .....	28,500	56,000	56,000	47,000	74,000	75	6,000	267,575

TABLE VI

RECEIPTS OF THE EVANSVILLE AND CRAWFORDSVILLE RAILROAD FOR YEAR 1860.<sup>9</sup>

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Animals (car.) .....	7	10	2	....	10	1	....	2	5	35	27	28	127
Apples (bbls.) .....	28	48	12	1	....	....	....	76	....	9	9	2	185
Bags (bales) .....	14	51	38	36	14	69	....	3	21	27	....	6	279
Beef (bbls.) .....	413	80	19	42	6	2	....	....	....	....	....	280	842
Bran (bu.) .....	2,983	867	155	316	232	209	....	479	1,859	1,132	3,071	756	13,059
Brooms (doz.) .....	....	....	77	11	....	97	....	....	....	58	79	164	486
Butter (bbls.) .....	1	4	4	3	....	1	4	....	....	85	6	2	117
Butter (boxes) .....	30	4	10	3	6	5	....	....	....	7	23	4	92
Coal (bu.) .....	500	....	....	730	600	....	800	240	480	540	....	....	3,890
Coffee (sacks) .....	453	340	78	40	71	89	109	81	277	158	212	135	2,043
Cheese (boxes) .....	188	94	6	59	34	66	47	27	9	....	....	....	530
Dried Fruit (box) .....	58	4	27	18	27	16	61	11	84	....	3	104	413
Drugs (boxes) .....	3	27	14	66	1	10	7	....	16	....	21	2	173
Drygoods (box) .....	8	41	29	62	43	12	56	8	225	52	51	19	606
Eggs (bbls.) .....	7	95	171	54	50	18	14	8	23	29	10	4	483
Feathers (bags) .....	10	6	18	17	4	11	10	6	6	8	13	12	121
Flour (bbls.) .....	2,848	2,148	2,546	713	877	2,153	419	1,634	3,801	2,581	5,645	1,053	26,418
Furs (boxes) .....	....	76	29	20	45	20	....	....	....	4	....	1	195
Glass (boxes) .....	41	1	1	7	....	2	17	6	....	15	2	24	116
Groceries (box) .....	8	11	....	1	....	25	....	....	56	60	2	....	163
Hay (carloads) .....	4	3	19	26	11	....	....	....	1	5	6	5	80
Woodware (box) .....	17	115	52	41	26	17	43	3	164	271	39	14	802
Hay (bales) .....	....	659	51	36	230	137	....	....	59	118	347	296	1,933
Hides (bundles) .....	40	3	13	55	....	7	....	4	....	....	6	6	123
Hides (number) .....	61	73	330	....	152	....	7	....	....	5	23	26	682

<sup>9</sup>These receipts were compiled day by day from the *Evansville Daily Journal*, totaled for the months, and these summed up for the year.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Hogs (number) .....	266	6	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	476	752
Iron bars .....	41	....	24	....	....	24	8	....	2	10	....	5	114
Lard (kegs) .....	667	536	1,025	1	....	1	17	....	5	....	....	814	3,066
Lard (bbls.) .....	59	195	1	3	....	2	11	....	....	2	....	11	284
Leather (rolls) .....	37	25	40	26	4	3	35	10	73	56	23	14	346
Meal (bu.) .....	36	43	103	68	29	122	....	....	142	271	54	102	970
Mdse. (boxes) .....	85	127	663	73	112	10	11	223	449	125	61	13	1,952
Oysters (box, .....	18	50	....	30	....	10	....	26	....	85	134	....	353
Pork (cask) .....	162	35	104	5	56	4	13	3	1	....	10	11	404
Pork (bbls.) .....	1,178	785	839	39	28	148	11	127	....	....	6	974	4,135
Potatoes (bu.) .....	31	90	6,672	1,224	61	117	....	....	33	159	1,902	784	11,073
Poultry (box) .....	24	58	6	27	150	....	4	6	2	10	37	51	375
Poultry (cars) .....	....	....	3	6	....	....	....	6	1	3	6	6	31
Salt (bbls.) .....	....	....	....	5	100	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	105
Shoes (boxes) .....	20	266	69	260	....	49	8	10	248	133	107	45	1,215
Sugar (boxes) .....	....	39	....	2	2	5	23	82	216	195	328	....	892
Tobacco (hds.) .....	5	15	....	2	16	5	1	2	14	39	31	8	138
Whiskey (bbls.) .....	950	776	492	880	557	220	....	....	291	253	607	426	5,452
Wheat (bu.) .....	2,197	2,732	3,066	981	773	2,015	8,110	11,366	13,071	17,815	7,696	5,150	74,972
Corn (bu.) .....	9,267	17,980	18,966	22,264	39,881	49,097	4,820	10,444	12,172	1,952	12,294	26,010	225,147

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# INDIANA COVERLETS AND COVERLET WEAVERS

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## INDIANA COVERLETS AND COVERLET WEAVERS

### THE PROCESSES OF COVERLET WEAVING

Until a few years ago, very little was known of the hand-crafts of our early Indiana pioneers. While many specimens of their work have survived, little interest has been shown in them, and many specimens of beautiful weaving of the pioneer mothers have been relegated to the attic or have been degraded to the most humble household use. Not until the celebration in 1916 of Indiana's centennial of statehood, were attics ransacked and old chests opened to reveal the wealth of handcraft, the work of our pioneer men and women, which still remains in the state. Most beautiful of all these specimens were the coverlets, double and single, whose intricate patterns and rich coloring set off the centennial displays of pioneer furniture. A year or so before, a book on the subject of hand-woven coverlets had been published in the east, and a study of its plates revealed the fact that examples fully as beautiful were to be found in many Indiana homes, some of them brought from other states as part of a pioneer girl's dowry; many of them the work of Indiana weavers. Then it was deeply regretted that these pieces of pioneer weaving had been so hardly used, sometimes as covering for ironing boards, or, in the country, as horse blankets, or to spread over vegetables or tobacco. The interest aroused at this time by the study of the patterns has resulted in the accumulation of a considerable amount of information concerning these covers and the men and women who made them. This information, while as yet incomplete, is collected in this pamphlet in the hope that it may result in arousing still further interest in hand-woven coverlets

and stimulate research in the history of coverlet weaving in this state.

Until recently so little has been known about coverlets that the name itself is often misapplied, so that the coverlet is sometimes called a spread, sometimes a counterpane, and sometimes a quilt. A newspaper picture some months ago showed a group of Berea College students presenting a coverlet to Mrs. Coolidge, but the caption read that the "quilt" which they presented her was "spun, dyed, and woven" by students of the college. The mistake is not surprising, since the words are used interchangeably in the dictionary. As the terms were used in this country in the days when these articles were all made by hand, the spread and the counterpane were bed coverings woven of cotton or linen, and the quilt was pieced of scraps of cotton materials, laid over a piece of muslin with a layer of cotton between, and quilted by hand in intricate patterns. The coverlet was woven on a loom from materials prepared by the housewife, usually linen or cotton for the warp, and wool for the woof. The word "coverlid" is a mispronunciation of "coverlet" which means, presumably, a little cover. It is said that the mountaineers of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, among whom this ancient art has been preserved, gave the word this mispronunciation, and sometimes they shorten it to "kiver." There is no reason why we should perpetuate the mispronunciation "coverlid" any more than we should say "kiver."

The art of coverlet weaving was brought to America in the seventeenth century from the Netherlands, France, the British Isles, Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden. It is said that a coverlet weaver came over with the Pilgrim Fathers, and that French Huguenots carried the art to the south. From the time of the earliest settlements until long after the Revolution, coverlet weavers came to America from these countries, particularly from Scotland, and followed the stream of emigration across the Alleghenies.

In order to understand the history of coverlet weaving in

the United States, one must first learn the method of its manufacture. There are two kinds of coverlets, known as the "single" and the "double." The "single" coverlet was woven by the housewife on the hand loom on which she also wove sheets, blankets, and linsey-woolsey. This hand loom was as much a part of the household outfit in colonial times and later in pioneer days of the middle west, as were the "big" wheel, the "little" or flax wheel, the reel, and other implements required for the manufacture of cloth. The "double" coverlet was made on a different kind of loom, much more complicated, and therefore always made by a so-called professional weaver. Sometimes this man set up what he often called his "factory" in a town or in the country on his farm; sometimes he was an itinerant weaver, though we have no record of itinerants in this state. His covers are called "double" because in certain parts of the design the fabric can be taken between the fingers and pulled apart, as though it were two coverlets, joined in places by the pattern. The late Arthur Osborn, of Spiceland, Indiana, is authority for the statement that this was sometimes called "division weaving."

In the case of both "double" and "single" coverlets, preparation of the material was the same. A brief account of this preparation and the labor involved should inspire a greater respect for the makers of these coverlets. For both varieties of coverlets the loom was strung with either flax or cotton thread. The flax thread was used in the earlier days, before cotton was procurable. The following description of the preparation of the flax for household use was prepared by the late Rufus Dooley, of Rockville, Indiana, who states:

There are not many people now living who remember the intricate details and many complex variations of the flax industry of the early times. Some seventy or seventy-five years ago it was no small part of the economic life of the people who built their homes and lived their lives in the woods. The larger part of the wearing apparel for men and boys was made of home-made flax cloth. Bed sheets and grain sacks, towels, and many other household articles were made of the same material. The grain sacks held three bushels of wheat, and the boy who could not shoulder three bushels of wheat had not yet arrived at man's estate.

The various divisions of the industry were conducted by both men and women; there were many processes, and a small piece of special machinery was required for each process. The seed was sown in the early spring in the usual broadcast way, on about half an acre of ground, and was harvested by pulling it up by the roots, following the hay harvest. It was then bound in bundles as wheat was bound, up to the time of the invention of the self-binder. After it had dried, it was opened and spread out on a clean, level meadow, in nice straight rows, and allowed to remain there for two weeks or more, subject to the rain, the dew, the wind and the sunshine, until the woody part of the stalk had decayed and become brittle, and could easily be separated from the fiber by the succeeding processes of breaking, scutching, and hackling. After rotting, it was stored in the barn until thoroughly dry, and during the cold dry days of the later winter, the process of manufacture began in earnest.

First, the "brake," the indescribable flax brake, operated by a man with muscle; this broke the woody part of the stalk into small bits, and made it ready for the next process, the scutching board. This, too, was usually a man's job, but from that on, through the first, or coarse hackle, the second or finer hackle, and the third or finest hackle, the work became woman's prerogative.

This third hackle left the flax in a perfect condition, ready for spinning, which was done on a small spinning wheel, operated by foot power. The material to be spun was held in place by a "rock" attached to the little spinning wheel; it was usually of home construction made from the limb of a tree with four prongs brought together at the top and tied with a string in the form of a cone. From the "spindle" the material was wound off onto the "reel," and from there to the "winding blades," back to the little wheel again, where it was run on "quills" to fit the weaver's shuttle. The loom was a very practical piece of old time machinery, not a nail in it, held together with mortices, tenons, and wooden keys. It could easily be taken down when necessary and put away in a small place. On such looms as this were woven the beautiful coverlets so much admired to-day.

Later, when cotton was available, cotton thread was used instead of the linen. The preparation of the wool was fully as elaborate as that of the flax, for it involved shearing, washing, picking, carding, spinning, and dyeing, all in preparation for the weaving. Mrs. J. J. Netterville, of Anderson, and the late Mrs. Almira H. Hadley, of Mooresville, have given descriptions of this work. Sometimes the sheep were washed in a running stream before shearing, but more often the sheared wool was taken through a process similar to the family washing (minus the boiling) and spread on the grass to dry. Mrs. Netterville mentions the old method of heating the water outdoors in big iron kettles hung on a pole with forks at each end, over a fire. When the wool was ready for the picking, the

neighbor women were invited in to do the work, which was followed by a dinner, making a most desirable gala occasion. A clean sheet was spread in the middle of the room on the floor and the women took up handfuls of the wool at a time, pulled it apart, and plucked back and forth until it was entirely free from any sediment, Spanish needles, or "stick tights." The cleaned wool was then tossed on the sheet in the center.

Carding was the next process, the cleaned wool being "combed" with the hand cards into so-called rolls for spinning. Later there were established "carding mills" to which the wool was taken to be carded. A distinctly middle-western story is that told by Lydia Morris Arnold, a pioneer teacher of Grant County, of the primitive methods of the carding mill. When the wool was carded at the carding mill, the rolls were "put in layers on the sheets the wool was brought to mill in, then rolled up very tight and pinned with thorns. My brother earned his first 'big money,' as he thought, by gathering thorns to sell to the proprietor of the mill at so much a dozen."<sup>1</sup>

Spinning came next, the "big wheel" being used for this. F. M. Wiley, of Indianapolis, recalls from his boyhood that the wool was held at the end of the spindle till it twisted fast. Then the spinner whirled the wheel rapidly, walking backward, until the wool stretched out into a long thread. The spinner then stepped out from the wheel and stretched out an arm to keep the thread at such an angle that it would twist with the spindle but not wind up on it. When the twisting was completed, the spinner stepped in and held the thread close to the wheel so that it would wind up on the spindle as she walked forward again. Another roll was attached to the first by lapping the thin ends and holding them together with thumb and finger until they began to twist, then backward again as she drew out another thread. The thread thus spun was wound upon a clock reel, which, after a certain number of revolutions, would click, announcing that a "cut" had been spun.

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<sup>1</sup>Baldwin, Edgar M., *The Making of a Township*, p. 86 (Fairmount, Indiana, 1917).



The "cuts" thus prepared must next be dyed, a process which greatly taxed the ingenuity of the housewife who must find her materials for dyeing in roots, bark, flowers, and plants. Little did she guess how superior were her products to the aniline dyes which were destined to supplant them in the days when the machine would succeed the hand loom. Mrs. Mary Carter, founder of the English Society of Hand Weavers, a Scottish woman who learned the craft in her native village where spinning, dyeing, and weaving are done at home in the fashion of primitive days, in a recent article in *The Arts and Crafts*, published in London, says that despite the skill of the chemist and chemical knowledge used in the great dyeing works, vegetable dyes still maintain a superiority dependent upon quite simple qualities. These colors from vegetable dyes are full, lustrous, and bright, and have remarkable endurance. Even when considerably faded they keep their beauty and charm. Dyeing is a very distinctive process, and no two people can ever be depended upon to get exactly the same color. The individuality of each dyer comes out in the dyeing, just as the individuality of the musician comes out in the playing of a particular piece of music. It is this individuality in dyeing and weaving that doubtless gives the old coverlets half their charm.

The colors most frequently used were red and blue, combined with white, but many old coverlets are found in which are mingled green, pink, yellow, saffron, and purplish lavender, perhaps best described as wistaria. In her *Book of Hand-woven Coverlets* Eliza Calvert Hall gives many recipes for vegetable dyes which she got from mountain women in Kentucky and Tennessee. Very few recipes of this kind have been collected in Indiana, but the tradition has been handed down of dyeing dull yellow or butternut with the inner bark of the white walnut tree; and blue and red, with indigo and madder respectively. Hal C. Phelps, of Peru, took down from Mrs. Magdalena Hiner Wilson, of Miami County, Indiana, the dyes she used in coloring the yarn for a coverlet of the "Virginia Ring" pattern, made in 1850, and now in the historical museum at Peru.

For the blue used in this coverlet: rainwater and indigo in a sack; a handful of bran. Work the indigo in the sack with the hands each and every day until it is dissolved. Let it work or ferment until it has a bad odor. Then place the material in it to be dyed and heat it or boil it until it has the desired depth of color.

For red: water, and a handful of bran and madder. Place in a kettle and scald. Place the yarn in the kettle and heat it, boiling until the desired color is obtained.

For green and yellow: smart weed in water makes yellow. Peach leaves in water make green. Place material to be colored in this liquid and boil. All these are fast colors. For walnut brown, boil white walnut bark in kettle and then put in yarn or material and boil until the light or dark brown desired is obtained.

C. G. McNeill, of Cincinnati, formerly of Perrysville, Indiana, writes as follows of the blue coverlet dyes.

The old coverlet dyes were mostly home made, and the one color that seems to have in greatest degree the charm of remaining fresh and bright through all the years was the blue, the indigo which was home-made from home-grown plants.

I have known two garden beds of indigo which were in recent existence; one is still in growth and plants are given away to visitors at an old Ohio home. My grandmother, Hannah Maher McNeill, had such a garden at Perrysville which was still kept to the fourth generation of her family and may be growing yet. I have not been there in the growing season for several years, and do not know whether it still exists or not. The house passed out of the family and the bed, about 4x12 feet, may not have been preserved by the present occupants.

What sometimes seems to be an additional color in a design is due to the ingenuity of the old weaver, who discovered that "warping" or twisting two threads of different colors tightly gave the effect of a different color. Dark red and blue twisted tightly gave the effect of brown, and two different shades of blue gave a third entirely different.

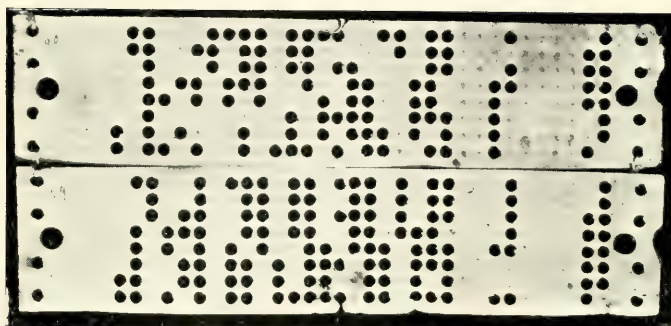
While no one thought, before it was too late, to take down the recipes for vegetable dyes used by these pioneer Indiana women, there is every reason to believe that they were fully as adept with the dye pot as were their Kentucky and Tennessee and North Carolina sisters, and the proof of this statement is to be found in the beautiful greens, reds, and blues, with an occasional touch of wistaria in the "double rose" designs of Henry Adolph, and the blue, old rose, and pale yellow of one of F. A. Kean's coverlets, to say nothing of other, unknown weavers whose work has been preserved.

The wool being carded, spun, and dyed, its disposition must next be decided by the pioneer housewife. Before the day of the professional weaver, the "single" coverlet was woven by some member of the household, or a woman of some other household who had time for such work outside her round of daily duties. As has already been said, the hand loom was an important part of the family equipment. Hal C. Phelps, of Peru, quotes an interview with Mrs. Mary M. Phelps Miller, then eighty-eight years old, whose mother and grandmother had learned the art of coverlet weaving in New York state. The loom, according to Mrs. Miller, occupied a small room in the house, and her grandmother warned her, as a child, not to touch anything about it for fear she would break a thread. Mrs. Miller, when a young woman, with her mother worked with the wool from the time it was sheared until it became the finished coverlet. Mrs. D. A. Porter, of Orleans, Indiana, tells the story of her aunt, Mollie Bowman, of Morgan County, who brought her hand loom from North Carolina and did weaving for people in her neighborhood.

Having decided to weave a coverlet, and having her material prepared, the next decision must be the selection of the pattern. Many of these "single" coverlets are to be found in Indiana; many were woven in this state by the old patterns of colonial days, still preserved in the remote districts of the Appalachian mountains where Elizabethan English is still spoken. I have seen in many Indiana coverlet exhibits the familiar patterns, "King's Flower," "Sunrise," "Pine Bloom," "Cat Track," "Single Chariot Wheels," "Double Chariot Wheels," "Snail Trail," and others. Some of the "drafts," by following which the weaver evolved the chosen pattern, have been preserved. At first glance, one might easily take them for bars of music, but on looking closely, he sees, instead of notes on the lines and spaces, numbers, or—in the more primitive ones—marks to indicate numbers. This was probably done for those—and there were many at that time—who could not read; two marks stood for the figure two, eight for the figure eight, and so on. These

	3	4		8	2		8		4	9		2	1	2	
2	9		4	8	2	2		8	4		9	2			
2	9		4	8	2	2		8	4		9	2	1		
	9	4		8	2	2		8	4		9	2	2		
<i>Hoogier Beauty</i>															

DRAFT FOR SINGLE COVERLET



PROFESSIONAL WEAVER'S PATTERN  
John La Tourette, Fountain County





KEAN COVERLET, VIGO COUNTY



SINGLE COVERLET, FOUNTAIN COUNTY HOUSEWIFE



doubtless denoted the number of times the shuttle was to be thrown.

The late Arthur Osborn, of Spiceland, Indiana, had a large collection of these very old, crude patterns, some of them found in this state, others, in North Carolina. Probably one of the most unique articles in the history of hand-woven fabrics is a little home-made handbook of coverlet designs which he found at Staley, Chatham County, North Carolina, some years ago and purchased of Miss Lylna Jane Cooper, an aged woman who had used it in her youth.

Back in 1828 some humble weaver of coverlets with beauty in her soul, desiring to keep her patterns in permanent form, made, with the crude materials at her disposal, this little book, eight inches in length, seven inches wide, and containing thirty-six pages. The cardboard cover, of a softness and pliability that suggests leather, is embellished outside and in with coverlet patterns in blue and white. Inside, drawn by the same painstaking hand, with a goosequill pen, on soft, hand-made linen paper, are the coverlet patterns, colored blue and white, a most difficult task, requiring many fine lines and squares. On the opposite pages are the drafts for the weaver, strange designs, meaningless to us, with marks instead of figures, directing the weaver how many times to throw the shuttle through the warp strung on her loom. Beneath the drafts are written the names: "Single Chariot Wheels," "Twelve Snowballs," "Floating Diamond," "Double Compass," "Rings and Roses," and several others.

On the first page of this little book, instead of a draft are twenty-one closely written lines. "Process to dye cotton or linnen turkey-red with—" and then follows, of all things, a cipher! A cipher in the North Carolina mountains in 1828! Mr. Osborn explained the cipher in this way. These women weavers of early days guarded the secrets of their art jealously. The red dye made of madder used at that time was a dull and rather ugly color, which, if boiled too long, became brown. The maker of this little pattern book had doubtless discovered

some plant decoction by which she could dye a color approximating the beautiful color known as turkey-red, and set it down in cipher so that no one else could steal her secret. Alas! among the old linsey-clad women with whom he talked and of one of whom he purchased this book, he could find none who could read this cipher.

Mrs. Valina (Reynolds) Millis, of Guilford College, North Carolina, upon seeing the book recognized the handwriting and code used in the directions for "Dyeing Cotton or Linnen Turkey Red" as those of her Aunt Delilah Reynolds, of lower Guilford County, North Carolina, since she was familiar with a diary and notes of Delilah Reynolds in the same handwriting and code.

#### ALPHABET AND CODE

a-1	y-6
e-2	t-7
i-3	n-8
o-4	v-9
u-5	r-0

#### PROCESS TO DYE COTTON OR LINNEN TURKEY RED, 29th, 11mo., 1829.

First—make a lye of one part of good potash, dissolved in four parts boiling water; then slack a half part of lime in it, next dissolve one part powdered alum in two parts boiling water and whilst this last solution is warm, pour the lye gradually into it, stirring and mixing them well together. Then add to the above mixture, thirty-third part of flaxseed oil, which when well mixed with it, will form a rich milky substance, resembling thick cream. As the skeins of cotton are dipt into this alkaline mixture it must be stirred, as the oil will rise up to the top of it when at rest. To ascertain the respective parts of the different ingredients as named above, they must all be weighed, beginning with the water first, of which there must be enough to permit each skein of cotton to be entirely immersed in it.

Before the cotton or flax thread, when that is to be dyed, [is] dipped into alkaline mixture, it must first be well bleached and cleaned by washing, of every foreign extraneous substance: then boiled in strong lye made of potash, and dipped into alkaline mixture while it is hot and as wet as it [can] well be, when the lye is well gotten out of it by drawing the skeins through the hands until they become well soaked. As each skein undergoing the above process [is finished], it is to be put upon a pole in the shade to dry. After remaining in that state for twenty-four hours, they must be well washed in pure running or rain water, and again dried, after which they are to be washed in a strong lye of good hickory ashes (or better, of potash).

Surely, however, he is lacking in imagination who can look at this thing of beauty—for the correctness of line of this little book, its soft coloring, and the sincerity with which it was wrought, do make it beautiful—and not feel a thrill at the thought of the woman in her isolated mountain home who so long ago sought thus to express her love of color and form.

The state of Pennsylvania cherishes in its museum as one of the most interesting documents in American hand weaving a book of coverlet patterns which had belonged to John Landes, of whom nothing is known save that he was an itinerant coverlet weaver. These patterns have recently been published by the Shuttlecraft Guild, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, because of the revival of interest in hand weaving, and particularly in hand-woven coverlets, throughout the country. Some of the Landes patterns are identical with those of the Osborn book, but the Landes patterns have no such artistic form as has the North Carolina booklet, which should be preserved in a museum in this state to which Mr. Osborn brought it.

Among the separate drafts in Mr. Osborn's collection, some of them pinned together with hand-made pins which have held them in place since 1828, is one of the rare and much-prized "Bonaparte's March," and the pattern owner's name, "Jane Ward."

The pioneers who brought their hand looms with them, or who constructed them after their arrival, were compelled at first to crowd them into the one-room cabin, or in a small room built off to one side. Later, the people of greater means built loom houses where the weaving could be carried on without interruption. The description of an old Indiana loom house which follows comes from the pen of Charles G. McNeill.

The noise of a loom was considerable. The clicking of the shuttle, the beating of the reeds against the web, the shifting of the treadles and the heddles would all begin when other work about the house was done. It might last an hour or all day, or perhaps well into the night. These noises, if in the dwelling, would waken a sleeping baby, disturb the rest of the aged members of the family, or prove quite annoying to any who were sick. So in many pioneer families where there was much weaving to do, it was found a great advantage to have the loom in a separate building.

Then, too, the storage of materials, of finished products, and of the extra equipment of the loom took space that could be provided in a loom house better than in a living room.

The same loom would be used for various kinds of weaving; fine linens or coarse, woollens of various grades including blankets, and even carpets, could all be had from the same loom by changing reeds, heddles, etc. There would be need for storage room for these extra parts which might seem unsightly in a dwelling. Even the loom, though sometimes its posts and beams were carved and nicely finished, could hardly be thought an adornment, and the space in a dwelling which such things might occupy could be put to other use. Young children, too, might injure some of the parts, such as the reeds. One can see that in many families there was real need for a loom house.

I am fortunate to be able to send you two good pictures of the only family loom house I know of that is in a good state of preservation. I do not know its age. It is at Perrysville, Indiana. The first settlers there came prior to 1824. The town was platted that year. I think the land on which it stands was doubtless "taken up" about one hundred years ago, or perhaps a little earlier, and that this loom house is well along towards one hundred year old.

It stands on a bluff in a bend of the Wabash River, almost directly across the street from the old seminary (now used as a grade school) and the new high school. About half way down the bluff a wonderful spring of water bursts out from a great crevasse in the rock which underlies the region and right at its origin is a stream as large as a man's arm, sleeve and all.

In the old days when the well at the seminary got out of order, the school was permitted to get its water supply from this spring. A couple of boys would be sent like Jack and Jill "down the hill to fetch a pail of water." Each of the four rooms had its pail and dipper. They must pass right by the loom house to get to the spring; but I suspect that few, very few, knew that it was or ever had been a loom house. They perhaps thought it was an old smoke house. Who ever heard of a two-story smoke house! It ceased to be used as a loom house about seventy or eighty years ago, however, when a woolen factory was erected at the other side of town by B. W. Riggs & Company. Home weaving, except rag carpets, soon thereafter was discontinued throughout the neighborhood.

This house belonged to a Mrs. Carter, now long dead, and stands directly in front of the dwelling, though in the side yard. Mrs. Carter's brothers, Hiram and Lemuel Chenoweth, settled on the next two farms south. Hiram's children still own all three of the properties. Mrs. Carter lived to great age. One son died from wounds and exposure in the Union army during the Civil War. Another son, Richard, also a Union soldier, served as county clerk at Newport, Vermilion County. His daughter, Grace, now Mrs. Bird Davis, assists her husband in editing and publishing the Newport *Hoosier State*. She was born at the old Carter home at Perrysville and in her childhood played all around, and in, and perhaps over, this old loom house. And, oh, what a play house it must have been!

After the seminary was built and students came from all over the county, and from other counties, and from Illinois, they found boarding places among various families in the village, and some at least "kept back." Among the latter were Martin J. Barger and Samuel M. Barger, brothers who came from Illinois. These two boys rented this old loom

house and kept bachelor hall in it, cooking and studying down stairs and sleeping upstairs. It doubtless made very comfortable students' quarters and certainly was convenient to the school.

The loom house was probably built by a Mr. Benefiel, a carpenter by trade, one of the earliest settlers in Perrysville, coming there from Kentucky over a century ago.

### PROFESSIONAL WEAVERS

As the state became more thickly settled and the people became more prosperous, the professional coverlet weaver appeared, a man who had learned the art of "double weaving" in Europe, and who came out to the middle-western states, and set up his elaborate looms in the towns or in some prosperous settlement in the country. As will be seen in the account of Indiana professional weavers which follows this, some of these men came alone, and some came with their brothers, all skilled in the trade. That there was a great demand for their work is shown by the account of William Muir and his brothers, of whom it was said that their work was promised as far ahead as three years, and that they sat at their looms for hours without sleep in order to get their work out at the time it was promised.

The housewife's joy can be imagined at the thought that now she was to be relieved of the tedious labor of weaving, and was also to be able to possess bed covers of more elaborate and beautiful patterns. As before, she prepared the wool, dyed it, and when it was all ready, carried it to the weaver. Mrs. J. J. Netterville, of Anderson, remembers, as a little girl, going with her mother in the wagon driven by her father to the home of William Hicks, a weaver, on Killbuck Creek, Madison County, and playing about while her mother selected the patterns for her coverlets.

These "double" coverlet patterns were many and elaborate. In the Indiana collections are found many "double" coverlets in the "Lover's Knot," the "Double Roses," "Frenchman's Fancy," "Liberty," and other elaborate designs known in other states as well as many presumably original designs. They could be woven in blue and white, red and white, or in mixtures of red, white, and blue, varied with the warping, or in other colors



if the housewife could prepare them. These "double coverlets" were woven almost always in two strips, as were the "single" ones, but occasionally some weaver possessed a double loom and wove the coverlet in one piece. Few of these one-piece coverlets were woven in Indiana; it is probable that most of those now in Indiana came from Pennsylvania or Ohio, where many such skilled weavers abounded.

The "double coverlet" had, usually, borders along the two sides, and across the lower end. The reason for not weaving a border across the top is evident—pillows covered this end of the coverlet. These coverlets overhung the high "poster" bed, and the end came out under the turned or straight piece at the foot which usually connected the two posts. It was a pretty fancy of the weavers to make this lower border different from the two sides, and one rarely finds a coverlet with the three borders alike. In the corners of this lower border, the weaver sometimes wove his "trade-mark," a subject which will be discussed later.

On the occasion of a visit to the Fountain County, Indiana, home of the LaTourettes, the description of weaving on the "double" coverlet loom was given the writer some years ago by Captain Schuyler LaTourette, son of the famous John LaTourette, weaver, a sketch of whose life appears later in this pamphlet.<sup>2</sup> Captain LaTourette, who died in March, 1926, was so brisk in movement and so gay in manner as to give the impression of being much younger than eighty-eight, which age he claimed at that time. His French inheritance was evident in every look, word, and gesture; his intelligence and his interest in every subject made his conversation delightful. He related the history of the family, showed us the old family Bible with the records, and deplored the fact that his father had changed his name from Jean to John.

Captain LaTourette did not learn the art of coverlet weaving, but his brother Henry, who also lived in this county, was an

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<sup>2</sup>See *post*, p. 419.



expert weaver who carried on the business for twenty years. He gave us an elaborate description of the process, however; calling the making of double coverlets "division weaving," as did Arthur Osborn, a very good descriptive name. The patterns were of heavy cardboard (we saw some later, looking much as music rolls for the pianola except that the holes are much larger). These patterns came in strips fifteen inches long and three and a half inches wide, and were joined together to make a strip half the width of one of the strips that make half a finished coverlet. These strips, numbered and joined together by threads, turned on a metal cylinder and there were needles which fitted into the perforations. Complicated as this sounds, it is nothing to what is to come. There were linen threads weighted at one end and controlled by what he called "hand holts." There were many treadles, and the weaver, who sat before the loom, must feel for the pedals with his foot, much as does the performer on the pipe organ, throw the shuttle, reach up without looking to catch the proper one of the many "hand holts," release it, catch the returning shuttle, and so on. The more I heard the process described, the less I understood it, but nevertheless it was interesting to hear Mr. LaTourette describe his father's skill in weaving, how he could throw the shuttle so fast that one could hardly see it, how he and his daughter could reach up without looking and unerringly take the proper "hand holt," and how much he enjoyed standing by and seeing the pattern reveal itself as the fabric grew.

"If I could see a loom, perhaps I could have a better idea of how it was all done," I said to Mr. Fred LaTourette, a nephew. "What is left of the old loom is out here," he said, and took me out to where he had dragged out the loom just before the original log house, used as a loom house, had fallen to ruin. We looked with awe at this old loom, to which some of the threads and needles are still attached. Lying around it were some of the cardboard patterns, which have defied the weather, even to the penciling which indicates their number.

Some of the professional weavers in this and in other states

made a practice of weaving on the two lower corners of the coverlet, making the device on one corner right side out, and wrong side on the other, so that whichever side of the cover was put "up" on the bed, the inscription might be read. The "double" coverlet repeats the design on the so-called wrong side, with colors reversed. Sometimes these weavers wove only the date, as "1846," in a square; sometimes they wove their full names and the date; again, the name or initials of the owner of the coverlet, the weaver's name, place of residence, and date; sometimes a design of some sort and the date. So far as I have been able to learn, the suggestion that this device was a trade-mark, used by the weaver to identify his coverlets, was made for the first time by William Ross Teel, of Indianapolis, who has a number of rare hand-woven coverlets. Since Mr. Teel has made this suggestion, I have been able to identify a number of trade-marks, and thus to discover the weavers of some beautiful coverlets. Other trade-marks still remain a mystery to be solved by some future student of the art of coverlet weaving. It has been observed that sometimes these coverlet weavers changed their trade-marks, as in the case of William Craig, Sr., or that some other weaver of the same name endeavored, by a different trade-mark to maintain his identity, as may be the case with F. A. Kean. It should be noted that some professional coverlet weavers never used a name, date, or emblem as a mark for their work. I have never seen a coverlet of the beautiful "Lover's Knot" with pine tree border pattern, a very old Colonial design by the way, marked in any way.

The student of these trade-marks will find much to confuse him. He must remember always that the old abbreviation of Indiana was "Ia."; that when William Craig wove "Greensburg, D. C. Ia." in the corner of his coverlets he meant Decatur County, Indiana; that when J. Craig wove F. L. County, he meant Floyd County.

Some mystery surrounds the markings found on the William Craig coverlets, the Greensburg weaver whose history appears later in this pamphlet. It is believed by some that he did not



DOUBLE COVERLET, CRAIG TRADE-MARK



CRAIG COVERLET, DECATUR COUNTY  
Note Different Trade-mark





GRAHAM COVERLET, HENRY COUNTY



GILMORE COVERLET, UNION COUNTY

adopt a trade-mark until later in his career, and that some of his coverlets bear neither name nor emblem, but merely a date. While the "crossed pipes" has become his familiar trade-mark, and is believed to have been adopted after 1853, he, or his son William also used a bell-shaped flower, and a house for trade-marks besides the frequent use of his name, and the words "Decatur county, Ia." Favorite Craig patterns help also to identify these coverlets—borders of bell-shaped blossoms, of birds feeding their young, a church with high steeple. Some believe that the unmarked coverlets were woven by the younger Craig.

A coverlet woven by J. Craig bears the trade-mark, "J. Craig, 2 miles N. East of Greensburg, D. C. Ia., 1854." Another coverlet marked J. Craig also bears the mark, "Andersonville, F. L. [Floyd] County, Ia." This may have been the same J. Craig in another location.

David I. Graves's trade-mark was a square containing his initials "D. I. G." and the date of the weaving. Sometimes he inserted the initials of the owner of the coverlet; sometimes "Wayne county." Samuel Graham, of Newcastle, marked his coverlets with a queer sort of bird with outstretched wings and the date; never using his name. Joseph Gilmore, of Union County, had a little ship with date below for a trade-mark. A favorite lower border with him was a row of two-story houses, interspersed with branching trees and with a paling fence in front. A Henry Adolf trade-mark is "Henry Adolf, Hamildon county Indiana, 1851," the misspelling due, perhaps, to his German pronunciation. One of George Adolf's marks is "George Adolf, Peace and Plenty, 1857."

According to William R. Teel, F. A. Kean, a coverlet weaver of Vigo County, used a trade-mark with the words "Made by F. A. Kean 1838," and in the lower corners of the square, a pine tree, with crosses between. Mrs. Isaac Daniel, of Indianapolis, has a coverlet woven at Peeden's Mill near Charlestown, Indiana, marked with a basket of flowers in the center of the corner square, and below the basket the words, "Made by F. A.

Kean, 1846." This opens the question as to whether this was the same man who changed his location or was an itinerant weaver, or whether there were two men of the same name pursuing the business of coverlet weaving in this state. Another Kean coverlet has been reported which has the date 1846, and the name F. A. Kean is in the tapestry weave, a flattened weave, rather rare and very beautiful.

Eliza Calvert Hall in her *Book of Hand-woven Coverlets* mentions the names of three Indiana professional weavers of coverlets, John LaTourette (or rather, she gives the name of his daughter, Sarah, who worked with him), Ann Hay, and John Getty. The last named did not exist, at least as a weaver of coverlets. Ann Hay married a man named Getty, and Mrs. Hall jumped at the conclusion that he was John Getty, of Lockport, New York, a coverlet weaver. Information from her grandchildren would lead to the belief that Ann Hay was not a weaver of coverlets, at all. With her father and mother she came direct from Scotland to Jefferson County, Indiana, and settled near the Carmel Presbyterian Church. She married Andrew Getty and reared five children. After Mr. Getty's death she married James Oldfield and lived for a short time in Lexington, Indiana, near Chelsea, about one mile from the Scott County line. Later the house was bought by Andrew Getty, her grandson. She was buried in the Carmel Presbyterian cemetery in Jefferson County. Miss Getty, her granddaughter, seems doubtful that her grandmother ever wove coverlets. There were coverlets in her possession, one dated 1854, probably woven by some professional weaver for whom she had prepared the material.<sup>3</sup>

A study of the art of coverlet weaving in this state within the past ten years, however, reveals the fact that Indiana has had more than forty coverlet weavers whose names and in some cases complete histories have been discovered. These names and histories follow, together with an account of coverlet weav-

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<sup>3</sup>Notes concerning Ann Hay were furnished by Miss Permelia Boyd, of Scott County.



ing in Switzerland County, Indiana, prepared by Mrs. A. V. Danner, of Vevay.

#### WILLIAM CRAIG

The story of William Craig, coverlet weaver, comes from his granddaughter, Mrs. Rena Craig Gilchrist,<sup>4</sup> of Greensburg, who writes:

Many homes in Decatur, Rush, Shelby, and adjoining counties have one, two or more double coverlets which are heirlooms. Not many know the history of an industry which gave occupation and livelihood to the few who knew the process by which these valuable and beautiful bedspreads were produced. They only know that in some way they possess rare and intricate patterns in their spreads; that they seem to be everlasting in their durability of color and texture; and some properly value them as relics, which, if lost, can never be replaced, as double coverlet weaving is a lost art. The looms were intricate and differed from other looms, and have all been destroyed. Many of the patterns have been preserved, but are entirely beyond the comprehension of those now living, and with the passing of a very few of the older people of our community, no one will be left who ever saw them woven.

William Craig, Sr., a Scotchman born in Kilmarnock in 1800, came to America in 1820, landing in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1821 he was joined by some of his brothers and sisters and several members of a family of his friends named Gilchrist: One of these, Jane Gilchrist, was his sweetheart, and they were married as soon as she landed. Two of the Gilchrists were weavers. All were young, and there were only two married couples in the company; these made homes for the others and the closest friendships always existed among them. They brought with them looms and necessary equipment for weaving.

We will not dwell upon the years intervening between their landing and 1832, when all but one family reached Mt. Carmel, Indiana, except to say that William Craig, Sr., was foreman in a large eastern cotton goods factory during that time. There was some weaving done in Mt. Carmel, but the people were all busy for some years in clearing their land and building houses, using their spare time in weaving, yet there were homes well supplied with the beautiful covers. Farmers kept sheep, clipped wool, washed and dyed it, then took it with a cotton warp to the weaver. They were the cheapest bedclothes they could get, besides being the most beautiful outside covers.

At the weaver's, the yarn was spooled and carefully "set up" and tied into the loom. This, we remember, was the most particular part of the process. The patterns must be copied exactly, the knots tied with speed,

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<sup>4</sup>Mrs. Gilchrist is the only surviving child of William Craig, Jr. In preparing this article she was assisted by John M. Craig, and Mrs. Elizabeth Craig Perry, only surviving children of James Craig, and Mrs. Jennie Reeves Moore, only surviving child of Jane Craig Reeves, all grandchildren of William Craig, Sr., all living in Greensburg. All, says Mrs. Gilchrist, have seen and known personally of the double coverlet weaving.

security, flatness, and precision; hence, the weaver's knot was always used. If the thread broke or the slightest imperfection appeared, it was darned so that an expert could not detect it.

In 1838 William Craig, Sr., brought his family to Decatur County, locating on a farm three and a half miles northeast of Greensburg, and there again set up his loom and was assisted in spare time in weaving by his two sons, James and William, Jr. The father spent much time on the loom until after the Civil War. James married in 1846 and lived in Anderson for eight years as a weaver, supplying the adjoining community with these popular spreads. William, Jr., married in 1845 and located his home and shop in Greensburg where, for eight years, he kept at the loom constantly.

Coverlet weaving became a large industry. People drove in farm wagons fifty and sixty miles, often bringing material for enough coverlets to supply each child at marriage, always leaving some in the home. Often after show days and big campaign days the shop was filled and the weaver had all he could weave in six months.

In 1853 William, Jr., exchanged with his father, he taking the farm, his father taking the shop, and until William, Sr., retired, the demand for coverlets continued. He later moved to Milford or Clifty, where he died in 1880. When the looms were taken down and stored they soon became junk, and there is nothing left of them.

William Craig, Sr., was a cousin of Matthew Young and James Craig, of Canton, Indiana, who wove extensively in that part of the state. It is no wonder that these beautiful pieces are found all over the world, when they were for many years a necessary part of a child's dowry and have never been known to wear out.

#### JAMES CRAIG

The following account of James Craig is furnished by C. L. Trueblood, of Washington County, Indiana.

My first recollection of James Craig, a Scotchman who was a weaver, begins about 1850. He was living near my home in Canton, Indiana, and his family and my mother being on intimate terms, I had frequent opportunities to watch him at his work, weaving coverlets. He had a shop on the southeast corner of his lot, where he dwelt, facing on the street. The shop was used exclusively for the loom and his work.

I was much interested in watching his operation in weaving and the construction of the loom, which was different from any other loom I have ever seen in that the threads of the warp were each run through a loop of cords to which were attached leaden weights about the size of an ordinary lead pencil, and I should think from twelve to fifteen inches in length. I do not remember accurately about that. The other end of each cord was attached to a pedal, of which there was a considerable number. A number of cords may have been attached to a pedal, according to the colors and figures being used. This enabled him to depress any of the threads of the warp that he pleased by operating the pedals with his feet, thus opening a space for the passing of the shuttle, of which he used as many as he wished colors in the pattern. By this means he was able to expose or cover any of the colors at his pleasure, thus being

able to produce figures in the proper colors. He sat on a long bench in front of the loom so that he could operate the pedals with his feet.

I remember James Craig as a man of medium weight, rather heavy for his height, and I think he had blue eyes. He was not given to sport, was rather of a reflective disposition, pretty well fixed in his opinions, and very neat in his habits. His wife was Margaret Craig. They lost two children by Asiatic cholera in 1852.

Mrs. James Young, of Evanston, Illinois, writes of James Craig:

James Craig, coverlet weaver, of Canton, Indiana, was my father, and Matthew Young, also a weaver, was my husband's father. William Craig, Jr., coverlet weaver, was the son of James Craig. James Craig was born in Kilmarnock, Scotland, June 17, 1819, one of a family of ten children. He died in Brazil, Indiana, August 23, 1896. I remember the old loom very vividly. It was taken to Michigan, where we lived for a while, but never used, and I suppose it went for junk after father's death.

#### SAMUEL GRAHAM

Clarence H. Smith, curator of the Henry County Historical Museum, has furnished the following information concerning the weaver Samuel Graham.

Samuel Graham, the coverlet weaver of Newcastle, was an Englishman by birth, a native of Lancashire, coming to this country from Darwen, a manufacturing city, long noted for its mills and weaving industries, some eighteen miles distant from that busy metropolis, Manchester. It seems probable that he belonged to the middle class, perhaps to a well-to-do manufacturing family. This I infer from the money that came to the family in later years. He was born on July 11, 1805, and when eighteen years of age, came to the United States. Landing in New York, he seems to have stayed there or in Philadelphia for a short time, and then to have joined the great stream of emigrants who were moving to the "great new west," as the states beyond the Alleghenies were called by the easterners. I wish we might know what caused this young man to choose the little county seat of Henry County, of about two hundred inhabitants, as the place for his abode. Was it, I wonder, the business enterprise of the postmaster, who was an old Indian trader, Isaac Bedsaul, or that of his newly arrived competitor, Miles Murphy? Or perhaps it was the legal mind of Jacob Thornburg, or Samuel Hoover, or the deeply religious character of that early Methodist, Father Coleman? Or it may have been the untiring efforts and sacrifices during the dread scourge of cholera that year of Dr. Joel or Dr. John Elliott, the county clerk, who fell a victim to the disease after caring for the many sick, that influenced the young artisan to stay in Newcastle. I doubt not at all that these sterling citizens had an influence on his choice, but I would say that, as usual, in the affairs of men, fate played a part.

Soon after coming to Newcastle, the young Englishman, Graham, established a loom for weaving coverlets. His daughter, Lucy Graham

Clark, of Dixon, Illinois, thinks that upon first coming to the county, her father wove at the McAfee-Mowrer Woollen Mills near Hillsboro, later known as the Blue River Woollen Mills, although my impression is that these mills were not in operation until about 1841. Mr. Graham purchased the old log courthouse, a small two-story affair, and for some years plied his trade in the upper room. For over twenty years he carried on a thriving business here and in other locations. His reputation became established, and many from adjoining counties brought their wool, all cleaned, carded, and ready to be made into his attractive coverlets. One of the boys of that day recalls how, as children, they used to go up and watch Mr. Graham at his loom; but he was a dour Englishman, stern and unapproachable, and not attentive to his children visitors.

Probably at the time he wove in the old courthouse, he was living at the present corner of Walnut and Twelfth streets, but more people here today remember him while he resided at the northwest corner of Walnut and Fourteenth, in a house that is still standing. In the back part of this, or it may be in a part separate on Walnut Street, Mr. Graham had his loom. Mrs. Clark says that about 1858 or 1859 Mr. Graham went to Cadiz. I do not know whether it was before or after his residence there that he moved on a farm where he also had a loom, located about where the Weiland greenhouses stand, near the Mahlon Harvey place.

Mr. Graham had a brother of much wealth in England, who was anxious for him to return to his native land. He gave him a large sum of money, saying that he wanted his relatives to have the good of the property during his life. After his death, however, each of the three children of Samuel Graham received five thousand pounds from his estate. This was in 1874. About 1863 Mr. Graham took his family to England, where they stayed until 1865 or 1866, when they returned to Newcastle. Mr. Graham did not weave after his return. He lived on East Broad Street, also on the Boone Highway, or Haguewood farm, two miles northeast of town. His sons also bought large farms north of town. Mr. Graham died in 1871; his widow in 1881. A granddaughter, Mrs. Asa Hernly, is the only descendant living in the state.

Mr. Smith gives a human touch to his portrait of the "dour Englishman" by describing his fondness for the game of checkers, to which he gave much time, always being able to defeat his rivals, one of them Edmund Johnson, a prominent member of the Henry County bar. A portrait in oil of Mr. Graham, by a contemporary artist, hangs in the Henry County Museum.

#### JOHN KLEIN

A weaver named Klein, Kline, or Cline, lived in Noblesville, Hamilton County, in 1861. "J. Klein, Hamilton county, Indiana—1859" is one of his woven marks. Mr. J. F. Kline, of Noblesville, son of the weaver, gives his father's name as Klein, stating:



The Klein mentioned by Madge Demerit, of Connersville, was John Klein who came to Hamilton County in the early fifties and established his coverlet loom in the home of Martin Forrer, about three miles south-east of Noblesville, where he received the wool direct from the farmers and put it through the different processes of manufacture by hand and returned to them the finished product. He was an expert in making fast-color dyes as proved by the present condition of his handiwork. He continued weaving at this place until 1857 when he married Lydia Heiny, of Clarksville, and moved to Noblesville and continued weaving in his house until 1861. At this time he and his brother purchased a woolen mill located at the corner of Conner and Sixth streets in this city, where now stands a flour mill. He moved his loom to the third floor of the building. This mill and contents were destroyed by fire about 1864. There are a great many of these coverlets in Hamilton County, and adjoining counties to my knowledge, as I have investigated in my effort to procure some of them, but have been unsuccessful so far. He always wove his name and the date in the corner of the coverlets. Being his son, I am greatly interested in this matter and would greatly appreciate any assistance in procuring a specimen of his handiwork. When a child, I spent many hours watching him weave, and in winding bobbins for him.

#### JOHN MUIR

John Muir, a weaver of coverlets, ingrain carpets, silk plaids, and Paisley shawls, was born December 4, 1812 in Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, Scotland. His father, Thomas Muir, weaver, was born near Glasgow, Scotland. John was well educated in the parish schools, and at the age of twelve years applied himself to the loom. In 1834 Mr. Muir was married to Harriet P. Gilchrist, who was born July 8, 1812. Kilmarnock was their home city and here he worked at his loom almost seven years. On May 15, 1841 they and their four children set sail from Glasgow in the American vessel "Oglethorpe" and landed in New York on August 3, having been on the water seventy-eight days. They stayed in New York three days to buy some necessary equipment for weaving, then went by rail to Pittsburgh, by boat to Cincinnati, and by wagon to Germantown, Ohio, remaining there until February 18, 1842 when they continued on their journey, driving on to Richmond, Indiana, thence to Indianapolis, arriving at Greencastle in February, 1843. Mr. Muir set up his loom at Greencastle and wove coverlets and carpets, but soon afterward he moved to a small tract of land on the Danville road about five miles east of Greencastle. Here his home



and household goods were destroyed by fire, but he saved the material that his patrons had brought him to be woven into coverlets, there being enough to keep his loom going for one year. He then located at Filmore and continued his weaving until 1859 when he moved to Parke County, locating about three miles southeast of Mansfield. Here he bought 520 acres of land and remained until his death, June 23, 1892.

One of his brothers, William Muir, came from Scotland to Indianapolis at an earlier date and wove coverlets, but later went to the south part of Clay County and bought several acres of land in the Eel River bottom. One of his daughters, Mrs. Viola Peavey, lives at Clay City. John Muir's son James helped his father weave in later years. James was born in Scotland, December 29, 1840, and died in Indianapolis June 25, 1921. Two other sons—Thomas, who was born in Scotland, and William, the first child born in America—were soldiers in the Union army during the Civil War.<sup>5</sup>

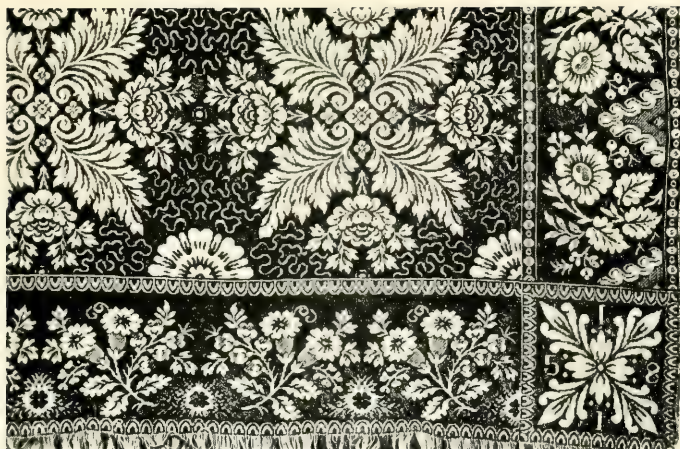
#### WILLIAM MUIR

The following information about William Muir was given by George Branson, of Brazil, Indiana. It will be noticed that the account differs in some details from the above information given by members of the Muir family.

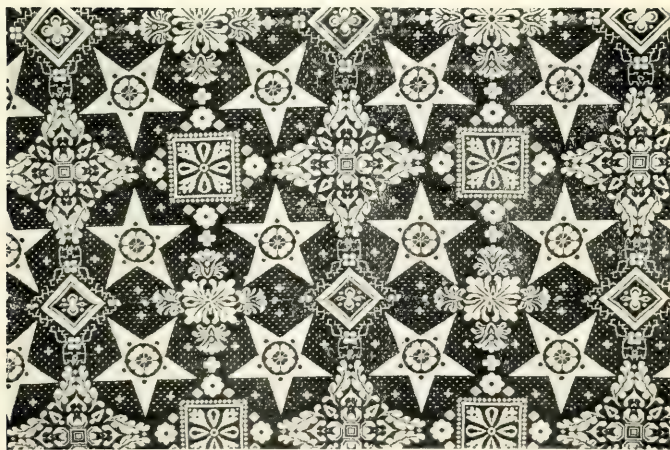
William Muir was born March 9, 1818, at Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, Scotland. His father, Thomas Muir, was a weaver and when William was six years old, he was apprenticed as a draw boy and later he was placed at the loom and taught to weave silk fabrics, and later to weave Paisley shawls and coverlets. In 1836 he came to America, landing at New York after a stormy voyage of sixty-five days. He came to Germantown, Wayne County, Indiana, where his brother, John Muir, resided and continued weaving. In 1842, he moved to Indianapolis, where he operated three looms for a period of eight years. While in Indianapolis, he exchanged some unprofitable railroad stock for a tract of land in the south part of Clay County and by purchasing adjacent tracts became one of the largest land holders in the county. A beautiful lake near this tract of land is known as Muir's lake.

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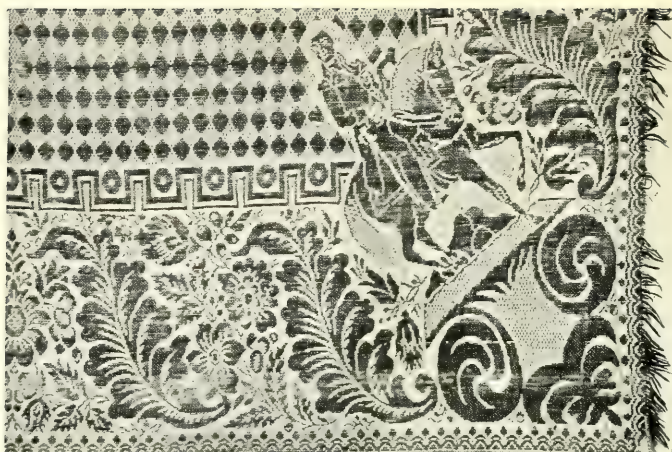
<sup>5</sup>For most of this history of John Muir, the writer is indebted to his two grandsons, Elmer Muir, of Parke County, and Charles Muir, of Indianapolis. Mr. Muir wove many coverlets in Parke County, his patrons coming from an extensive territory, and bringing their material ready for the loom.



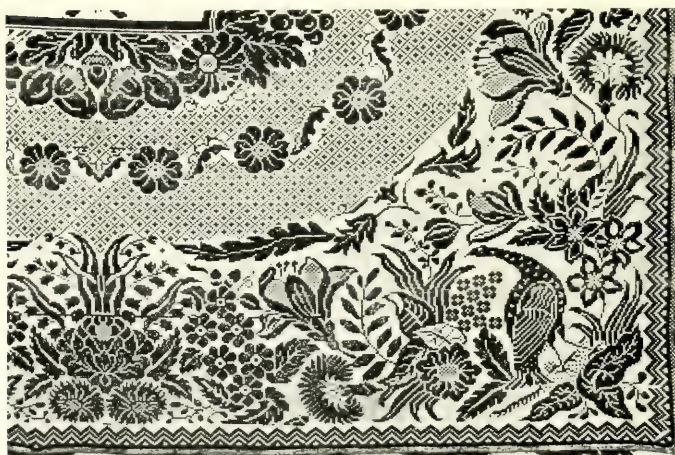
MUIR COVERLET, CLAY COUNTY



DOUBLE COVERLET, WEAVER UNKNOWN  
Owned by Mrs. Ann Mayer, Indianapolis



SEAMLESS DOUBLE COVERLET, SO-CALLED COLONIAL PATTERN



SEAMLESS DOUBLE COVERLET, WILD TURKEY CORNER DESIGN



According to his daughter, his only schooling was in night schools, but he was really a well educated man. He carried the brand of his early work at the looms, for the tendons of both of his little fingers were severed, causing his fingers to be deformed. The four brothers, Robert, William, John, and Thomas, worked at the looms together for some time. William Muir said once that their work was promised ahead as far as three years, and that they sat at the looms for hours without sleep, except as they dropped their heads on the looms for a few minutes at a time for a nap, this, in order to get their work out at the time it was promised.

#### JOHN LA TOURETTE

Among the professional coverlet weavers in Indiana, the best known was John S. LaTourette, of Fountain County, and his daughter Sarah, who were widely known for the beauty and perfection of their work.<sup>6</sup> A branch of this family came to America and settled on Staten Island in 1773. John, a son of the emigrant, came out to Ohio in 1820, and to Fountain County, Indiana, in 1826. The family had been weavers in France, and brought the art with them to the new world. John LaTourette bought land on Graham's Creek, Fountain County, and built a log cabin near the creek in 1826. In 1839 he built a brick house on the hill above the creek, a mansion in its day, with central hall, wide fireplaces, panelled woodwork, no two floors on the same level. The brick for this house was made on the place: the surface soil was taken off, the clay dug and moistened with water from Graham's creek and trampled by oxen to the proper consistency. When the house was complete, the log cabin was brought up the hill and set beside the house for use as a loom house. A grandson, Fred LaTourette, lives in the house and his uncle, Captain Schuyler LaTourette, lived in a house nearby until his death in 1926, when past ninety.

#### FRANCIS KEAN

Francis A. Kean lived and wove his coverlets about four miles east of Terre Haute on the National Road on what is known as the Kean farm, now the Catholic cemetery. Some of

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<sup>6</sup>See *ante*, pp. 408-9.

his coverlet dates are 1838, 1844, 1851, according to W. R. Teel, of Indianapolis.

Mrs. Isaac Daniel, of Indianapolis, describes a beautiful double coverlet in her possession made at Peeden's Mill on the Charlestown-Henryville road about five miles north of Charlestown, Indiana. Each corner has an eight inch square with a basket of flowers in the center, and above the basket the words, "made by F. A. Kean," and under the basket the date 1846. "We do not know," says Mrs. Daniel, "whether F. A. Kean worked for Peeden or whether he was Peeden's successor." The question arises as to whether this was the Terre Haute Kean, who had a different trade-mark, or another Kean of the same name.

#### HUGH GILCHRIST

Hugh Gilchrist, born in Kilmarnock, Scotland, October 24, 1824, came to the United States at the age of twenty-two. He had learned the art of weaving in Scotland. Coming to Franklin County, Indiana, near Mt. Carmel, he and his brother entered one hundred and sixty acres, and on this farm built their loom house of logs, a building sixteen feet high, for the loom. He later moved to Decatur County, where he died. William Craig, the weaver, married Gilchrist's sister. These notes were given by the late George Gilchrist, of Indianapolis, the weaver's son.

#### DAVID GRAVES

David I. Graves is remembered by John Edwards, who lives near Monrovia. Mr. Edwards recalls the day of the carding factory, which superseded the pioneer housewife's carding of the wool. As a boy he worked in this factory and recalls the various steps in the process of making the wool into the rolls from which the housewife spun the woolen thread. The thread, spun and dyed, was taken to the weaver, Graves, whose loom was in the top of the two-story mill. Mr. Edwards recalls the lead weights which hung to the cords of the loom. David Graves came, he thinks, from Richmond to Morgan County, and



was considered a fine weaver. His coverlets were usually marked with his initials, "D. I. G." One of the handsomest coverlets in Henry County bears in the corners the letters "E. S." Below that, "by D. I. G.," and the date 1839. This was given by David Hoover, pioneer settler of Richmond, as a wedding present to his daughter Esther, who married Henry Shroyer. The date on the coverlet is therefore the date of her marriage. The coverlet has the "goldfinch border"—in each square of the border, perched on twigs, are two small white or light colored birds, with dark wings, facing each other.

#### GABRIEL GILMORE

W. E. Crawford, of Union County, Indiana, writes of Gabriel Gilmore:

Reverend Archibald Craig came to this country from Scotland in 1820 and settled in South Carolina. With him came his daughter Janet and her husband, Gabriel Gilmore. In 1826 the Reverend Craig with Mr. Gilmore came to Mt. Carmel, where the former became pastor of the Presbyterian church there. Gabriel Gilmore had been a weaver in Scotland, as were also his three brothers, William, Joseph, and Thomas, who came to this country either with Gabriel or later. The four brothers bought a farm two miles west of Dunlapville, Union County, Indiana, and built two dwelling houses and a two-story, hewed log loom house, where they set up their looms and patterns, said to have been brought from New Haven, Connecticut. Later, Joseph moved to Missouri, and Gabriel and Thomas moved to Decatur County, Indiana, about 1858. William moved to Oskaloosa, Iowa, taking the looms with him, but they were never used after reaching there.

#### ROBERT MILLER [MILTON?]

Robert Miller [Milton?], a coverlet weaver, came to Salem, Indiana, about 1857 or 1858 to work in the woolen mill of Campbell, Allen & Company. He had a loom built on the corner of Market and Mill streets on the property of Joseph Allen, one of the owners of the mill. He sent to England for his loom. He made a business of weaving coverlets in one piece, no seams. These were mostly blue and white. A beautiful coverlet of his weaving is owned by Mrs. Earl Adams, given to Earl Adams by his grandmother, Mrs. Lucinda Conner.

Robert Miller boarded with Mrs. Conner's mother, and not being able to pay his board, gave her two coverlets valued at that time at ten dollars each. Mrs. Conner says that Robert Miller was about five feet tall, very broad shouldered, and had a very dark complexion. He left Salem about the time of the Civil War and nothing is known of him after that time.

JAMES MCKINNEY

Franklin County in its pioneer days had a coverlet weaver known as "Uncle Jimmy" McKinney. He lived up the West Fork of Whitewater about three miles, in what in that early day was known as "the Carolina Settlement." He was a Scotchman and both he and his family were somewhat above the average in education and general intelligence. His daughter, Mary, known as Polly, married Graem Hanna, one of the most prominent young men of that period (1815). His sons, James and John T. McKinney, became prominent attorneys, the latter dying while judge, in the year 1837. His remains lie in an old cemetery in the north end of Brookville. There are none left of this name, but grandchildren of Mary McKinney are, a few of them, near the old settlement. The Graem homestead is still in the family name.

Mrs. S. S. Harrell, of Brookville, has in her possession two handsome double coverlets of this Scotch weaver's workmanship, but has reason to believe that there are few of them left in the country.

CHARLES ADOLPH

From Clarence H. Smith we have the following information :

Looking through the original files of the census enumeration taken in Henry County in 1860, and in Liberty Township, postoffice, Millville, which is about six miles east of Newcastle, I found the name Charles Adolph, aged 35, occupation "weaver." Place of birth, France. Value of real estate —; value of personal property, \$100. Other members of the household were Emerance (presumably the wife) aged 37, born in Wurtemberg, Ger., and children all born in Indiana. Catherine, aged 11 years; George, aged 9 years; Pheba, aged 8 years;

Mary, aged 4 years; Elizabeth, aged 4 years; Jacob, aged 2 years; and Nancy, aged one year. There is a coverlet in the county which has woven in the corner, "Charles Adolph, Henry County, Indiana, 1857."

#### JOHN WHISLER

John Whisler had a loom at Milton. He came to Milton in 1826 from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and lived on a farm south of Milton. He followed his vocation of weaving coverlets and seamless grain bags; about 1843 he moved to Milton where he continued his work until cotton advanced and such work was no longer profitable. Mrs. L. P. Zeller, of Milton, formerly Emma Wilson, a granddaughter of John Whisler, says that she can remember when he wove coverlets. When he stopped weaving coverlets, he turned his attention to weaving rag carpets and rugs. Mrs. Zeller has a part of a rag carpet he wove many years ago. He has one son, Sanford Whisler, the last of the family, now past eighty-six years old, living in Milton.

Mrs. Edgar R. Beeson, of Milton, Whisler's great-granddaughter, says that her grandfather wove into the two lower corners of his coverlets his name, John Wissler, Wayne county, and the date. At first, he spelled his name in the German fashion, but in 1840, he changed it to Whisler to conform to the usage of his Indiana relatives.

#### OTHER WEAVERS

Henry Adolf, of Hamilton County, who misspelt it "Hamilton," in his trade-mark, is said to have been an employe of John Whisler of Milton, Indiana.

John Marr and John Snyder also are said to be employes of Whisler.

Peter Lorenz, Wayne County. A coverlet made by Henry Adolf and Peter Lorenz, of Wayne County, is owned by Edward Hatfield, of Brookville, Indiana.

William Hicks was a weaver in Madison County on Kilbuck Creek, in the fifties.

William Kerns was a weaver in Parke County, near Leatherwood Creek, where it crosses the Rockville-Montezuma road, about seventy-five years ago, according to George Branson, of Brazil, Indiana.

A coverlet in the Northern Indiana Historical Museum has woven in the lower corner, "South Bend, 1846." The weaver is unknown, but the wool was spun by Mrs. Peter Ballenger, according to a note attached to the coverlet.

Vogel, a German weaver of coverlets, unmarried, lived in a two-story building on South Washington Street, in Crawfordsville about 1846-47.

The name is given of a weaver, Ballentyne, date 1849. The coverlet is owned in Delphi, Indiana, but the origin of the weaver is unknown.

— Bissett, Franklin, Indiana.

John and Damus Huber, living near New Alsace in Dearborn County, Indiana, 1840-50, are names given by W. D. Robinson.

Joseph Nurre [Dearborn County, 1850?].

— Schrontz, Dearborn County.

Ritchie Thompson, Brownsville, 1834.

William Fairbrothers, of Henry County.

J. Craig, of Andersonville, Floyd County.

Samuel Stinger, of Carthage, Rush County.

John Striebig, 1834, Wayne County.

Henry Wilson, 1852, who lived near New Winchester, Hendricks County.

Accounts of the professional weavers, Thomas Cranston, George Simpson, and James Baird are included in the following sketch of Switzerland County weavers.

Weavers mentioned, but not included in headings on earlier pages, are: Matthew Young, in the sketches of William and James Craig on pages 414 and 415; George Adolph, on page 411; the Gilmore brothers, Joseph, William, and Thomas, on page 421; and Henry La Tourette, on page 408.

## COVERLET WEAVING IN SWITZERLAND COUNTY

By

Mrs. A. V. Danner, Vevay

The art of Coverlet weaving was brought to Switzerland County, Indiana, by the Scotch and Irish immigrants as early as 1815. The oldest example of their art that the writer has had the pleasure of examining is the Cowan coverlet, rose and blue in color and the pattern of the "door and window" design. It was in 1815 that Donald Cowan and his bride, Jennie Ewing, left the "Auld Countree" and sailed seven long weary weeks in an old schooner across the seas. We hear that they were seasick and homesick, but they never faltered as the long miles by land, over mountain and down the mighty river, were slowly traveled, until they reached Craig Township, Switzerland County, Indiana, about six miles back from the river on Long Run Creek. There they gathered the limestone from the creek and hillside and built a limestone house. No attempt was made in these houses to dress the stone, which was laid up in a rough but artistic wall, often two feet thick, with large stone chimneys and fire places as large as a modern kitchenette, a fortress for defence and an advance in architecture over the log cabin. This house and many more of its time and style are now in a good state of preservation. Donald raised sheep and Jennie set up her loom. Together they went into the primeval forest and gathered the barks and herbs for her dyes, for she wove the Scotch tartan, flannels with graduated stripes, to clothe the family. The hickory bark, walnut bark, white ash and black oak, maple and red oak, yielded different color dyes and larkspur, bloodroot, poke root, burdock and the flowers from black-eyed-Susan, were dye-yielding herbs. So that in every sense the Cowan coverlet is a Switzerland County home product, made in 1820 and now owned by a granddaughter, Mrs. Emma Ramseyer, of Vevay.

Henry and Ann (Chambers) Andrews, from Ireland, came to Switzerland County in 1820 with their young widowed daugh-



ter, Mrs. Susan Betts. She, too, lived in a limestone house on the Fairview Pike, Jefferson Township. She delighted in weaving Irish linen sheets and plaid blankets, also coverlets in blue and white and Irish rose color. One of her coverlets is a "Whig rose" pattern in blue and white, another a honeycomb in blue and white with a rose frame, a very dainty pattern and the colors are still deep and clear, neither is there a mistake in these intricate patterns, woven by count of thread and the beat of a common loom. These coverlets are owned by her family. She later married Mr. Nash and a treasured bit of linen of her weaving was made into a sampler by her step-daughter, who embroidered the alphabet and numerals in cross-stitch with brown thread, and below, her name "Matilda Nash, 1838." This sampler and the "Whig rose" coverlet are owned by the writer. Mrs. Susan Nash died in 1876.

"Away down in Craig Township," eighty years ago, Naomi Bray was weaving a "lover's knot" coverlet in blue and white, verily a maiden's dream, for the next year she married Mr. Wiseman. This is the only coverlet she made and when asked why she did not weave another, she replied that she had too many housewife's cares and different things to distract her mind from count and beat of the pattern, for the weaver must keep her mind on the work incessantly until it is finished when weaving on a common loom. However, she did weave plaid flannels and many yards of jeans. Her daughter, who owns the coverlet, said, "I used to help my mother thread the loom, the chain was doubled and twisted on the big wheel, then bleached and spooled, put on the warping bars, taken off in loops and laid on, so many yards on the beam of the loom, unwound through the gears, the reeds and the temples to keep it straight, for it was a difficult task to keep the selvage even." This loom was later sold to a rag carpet weaver.

Mrs. Wiseman, who was an expert in the dyer's art, colored wool for several coverlets made by the professional weaver, Thomas Cranston. She set the "blue pot" with madder and flour. The indigo was sewed up in a flannel bag and put to

soak in a kettle of water ; then the indigo yeast was added, which had been carefully saved from year to year. It was thick and greenish in color when poured into the new dye. This mixture was kept warm day and night on the hearth of the old fire place for four or five days until it was "ripe." It was then brought to a boil and the wool dipped and aired, and dipped and aired, until it became that deep, dark, beautiful blue we see in these hand-dyed and hand-loomed coverlets.

She also colored wool in scarlet and crimson with madder. The scarlet and white Cranston coverlet in the honeysuckle and wreath pattern with a large dove in each corner and basket of roses in the border is as much a tribute to her dyer's art as to his craftsmanship in tapestry weaving. Mrs. Wiseman colored "clouded yarns" by wrapping the yarn tightly with cotton cord for an inch every eight or ten inches, dipping it all in the dye. When the wrappings were removed that space was white and when woven or knitted made a clouded or variegated effect.

The Scotch settlement in Pleasant Township, Switzerland County, developed the art of hand-woven fabrics that seems to be all their own in the history of the county. About thirty Scotch families immigrated here before 1825 and settled ten miles back from the river, without regard to county lines, in both Switzerland and Jefferson counties, among the braes and glens and dales that resembled their native home, brought with them their craft and thrift, and made a bit of Scotland for themselves. Their church, Caledonia, was built on the county line, the "kirk" in Switzerland, and the "kirkyard," where they buried their dead, in Jefferson County. When the Wither- spoon family came over, they brought their silver spoons and brass candlesticks. They floated down the Ohio River in a flatboat. They were weavers of Scotch tartan flannels, the mother weaving and the girls spinning. Miss Maggie said, "Eight cuts was a day's stint for us, or 120 threads, and sometimes we were through our stint by 3 o'clock on the afternoon."

About 1835 or 1840 a Scotch tapestry coverlet weaver named George Simpson arrived in the settlement. He and his wife

lived in a log cabin on the Witherspoon farm. He operated a Jacquard loom and wove for housewives of the neighborhood, who spun and dyed pounds of wool that each child might have his own coverlet. His first coverlet was made for Mrs. Uzzia Stow. After weaving the center he waited several weeks for the border pattern to arrive from England. This border was a trailing vine with small birds scattered along. Miss Witherspoon has a Simpson coverlet in blue and white, design of oak leaves, blocked off in twelve inch blocks by fancy columns, end border of basket of roses, side border a vine, and in each corner an eagle with spread wings. We have heard of several others of similar designs.

Before the Civil War, Mrs. Cockerill, of Cumberland Gap, Tennessee, engaged a man there to make eight tapestry coverlets, one for each of her children. When he had woven one and half of another, he died. She could not find a Jacquard weaver in Tennessee or Kentucky and hearing of Mr. Simpson, sent her yarn to Switzerland County. He wove the seven coverlets for her. Of late years, her son, Major Cockerill, wanted to buy the loom on which they were made. It was found stowed in dust and cobwebs of a crib, but the Major died before it was shipped to him and it is at present owned by Mr. Ed Lamson, of Craig Township, Switzerland County. Mr. Simpson died about 1855. He is referred to as Simpson, the weaver, father of Dr. Robert Simpson, a popular physician in the county, who was born in 1845 and practiced from 1870 to 1900.

A Scotch bachelor, Thomas Cranston, arrived about the time Mr. Simpson died. He brought his Jacquard loom and began weaving the tapestries. He had served a seven year apprenticeship in Scotland to learn his craft. He married Miss Ann Glenn, of Jefferson County, and bought a farm on Brushy Fork, where he built a limestone house in the garden where, as one of his Scotch friends told the writer, "he wove at odd times and wet spells." He had a book of patterns from which his patrons selected the one they liked. I have seen six of the Cranston

coverlets and heard of several more in the county, all blue and white except Mrs. Wiseman's scarlet and white. All of these coverlets were dyed by the county housewives. Some of the tapestry patterns are "moss border with snails," "moss and roses," Scotch thistle patterns, large medallion and small polka dots, with a small bird in a wreath of leaves in the corner of the borders. One conventional geometric pattern had no border. He delighted in baskets, roses, and borders of birds—eagles, larks, and blue buntings. In 1870 after modern machinery had supplanted the hand loom, Thomas Cranston with his family moved to Kansas, where he was elected to the state legislature several times.

Mr. Frances, a Scotch weaver, believed in advertising his craft by solemnly stating to each patron that he wove his clover blossoms so perfectly that the bees flew on them to suck up the honey. A blanket weaver amused his patrons by always speaking of making his tartans "cleek" instead of match.

James Baird, an Irishman, was a professional weaver, but I have not seen any of his work. It is the housewife's coverlet, of which there are many in the county, that has the strongest appeal to me. The sacrificing woman "who, seeking wool and flax, worked willingly with her hands," who dreamed and spun, and dreaming, wove a fabric unique in form and rare in color from homely products around her, "covering the household with tapestry," deserves great admiration. Alas, her skill and the pride of her art died with her! No one now in the county can thread the old loom, can give a receipt for the bark-herb dye, or can count the thread and beat of the "lover's knot" or the "Whig rose." We would think it were all tradition if it were not for the beautiful coverlets that in their perfect fabrics and the beauty of their fadeless colors testify to a forgotten art of the past.

#### INTERESTING OLD COVERLETS OF INDIANA

Many interesting bits of information concerning coverlets in Indiana have come to light during the search for the history

of old coverlet weavers. One of the oldest coverlets in the state was shown at Brazil during the Clay County centennial celebration. It was made in England in 1798 and brought to America by the grandmother of Dorsey Arvin, its present owner, first to Kentucky, and then to Daviess County, Indiana.

Another very old coverlet is the property of Mrs. Dan Carter, of Rockville, Indiana. It is in three colors and of an unusual pattern. When Mrs. Carter bought the coverlet, she had the owner make an affidavit as to the truth of his statement. Dr. James Corie stated that this coverlet was two hundred years old. The yarn was spun and woven and colored by Mrs. Johanna Verlam and bequeathed to her daughter, Mrs. Mary Comstock, who in 1814, gave it to her daughter, Mary Wanamaker (fifteen years of age) in exchange for splitting rails to enclose their cabin. Mary Wanamaker at her death in 1885, gave the coverlet to her good friend, Mrs. Mary A. Corie. On Mrs. Corie's death on April 8, 1921, it passed into the hands of her husband, Dr. James Corie, who sold it to Mrs. Carter. The Wanamakers, says Mrs. Carter, were settlers of Parke County.

A coverlet story which illustrates the high esteem in which coverlets were held and the desire of the parents to present each child with a coverlet is told of Harry M. and Rachel A. Clemons, of Decatur County, who had eleven coverlets made by William Craig, of Greensburg. Mr. Clemons sheared the sheep and spun the wool which was then turned over to the Craigs. Each year for ten years he had them weave a double coverlet, paying each time five dollars for the weaving. These passed into the possession of the Clemons' children. The dates of the covers are all in the forties.

An unusual coverlet shown at the Tippecanoe County centennial exhibition of relics has an intricate pattern showing a farmer plowing in his field, with birds flying overhead, and farm buildings scattered about. The figures are quite small and the pattern is repeated over the entire coverlet. It has no trade-mark.



A woman of North Vernon describes a coverlet which is said to have been woven for her grandmother by an unknown weaver near Richmond, Indiana, in 1855, as having a border design of hunter and hounds. A somewhat similar design forms the border of a coverlet in the possession Mrs. Walter Q. Gresham, of Indianapolis. The design is a hunting scene, with trees in the background, and in the foreground, a hunter with his gun, and a dog in pursuit of a fleeing deer. In the corner is a trade-mark, a small but neatly designed two-story building with an elaborate cupola. The date, 1848, is woven below.

Three child's coverlets, the only three known to exist, are owned in this state. One was woven in Ohio, and its description, by Mrs. J. D. Fogle, of Bourbon, Indiana, gives its size as three by four feet. The colors are dull green, dark blue, and white. The design is that sometimes known as "Young Man's Fancy" and the side borders are of birds and roses while the border across the foot is of grapes and leaves. In the trade-mark square is the weaver's name, "Vernon township, Crawford county, Ohio. J. C. Cole, 1861." The second, in the possession of Mrs. A. L. Flanningham, of Thorntown, Indiana, is thirty-six by thirty-two inches in size, with a four-inch fringe on two sides and one end. The colors are blue, green, and two shades of red. The name of the weaver is unknown. The third, woven by John Whisler, was shown at a coverlet exhibit at Milton, Indiana, in 1928. It was the duplicate in pattern of a large coverlet by the same weaver, and was evidently ordered with the idea of having the covering for the large bed and the child's bed match.

A story which shows a woman's regard for a coverlet which has been a family possession for many years is told by Mrs. Ann Mayer, of Indianapolis, concerning a beautiful blue and white coverlet in a pattern of large five-pointed stars, alternating with elaborate curved designs, and with four borders. The trade-mark is a large single flower, without date or name, and the weaver is unknown. Mrs. Mayer states :

I was only twelve when my parents died, and our home was broken up and our goods put up at auction. Of course it was all hard enough, but the last straw, it seemed to me, was the loss of this coverlet. Although so young, I bid it in, with the understanding that the amount bid should be deducted from my share of the estate. I wish I could give you the exact age of the coverlet. I am eighty-one [this letter was written in 1926] and I know it has covered four generations, and as the first recollection I have of it was from a sister of my grandmother, I think I am safe in saying five generations, anyway.

A passage from a will of Dubois County, dated April 29, 1905, disposing of over \$50,000, shows the high regard in which hand-woven coverlets are held in some families. In this will Mrs. Margaret Sherritt gave to John H. Sherritt "a coverlet made by Margaret Gibson Brown more than a hundred years ago."

It is not possible, within the limits of this pamphlet, to list the names of "single" coverlet weavers, since such coverlets were woven in many households, and a number of these names have been preserved. The collector of coverlets should remember that, with the exception of Sarah LaTourette, who worked with her father, no woman is known to have mastered the intricacies of the loom for "double" coverlet weaving. While the tradition has come down in many families that the coverlets were woven by the grandmother or great-grandmother, it will be found that in the case of the "double" coverlet, her work was confined to the preparation of the materials, which were then taken to the professional weaver.

The Civil War, improved machinery, and aniline dyes brought an end to the work of the hand weaver. For a time some coverlets were made by machinery in factories after the old patterns. These are easily distinguished from the others by the coloring and the style of weaving. They have little of the beauty of the old covers with their soft rich dyes and beautiful weaving.

The period of the hand-woven coverlet may be said to lie between the Colonial days and the Civil War; in Indiana, from the coming of the first settlers into this territory until Civil War days.

Much material remains to be collected regarding this branch of art, and this research should be a part of the work of the county historical societies. As has already been done in Washington County, the coverlets in the county should be listed and their history, so far as possible, recorded. Those that were the work of the housewife should be listed separately from those that were the work of the professional weaver. In old sheds and outhouses, old looms are falling into decay; every county historical society should preserve one of these that the children may learn from it something of the laborious art of weaving. The names of the weavers of "single" coverlets, in addition to those of the professional weavers should be collected. Trade-marks should be studied, as well as the weaving patterns, many of which seem to be peculiar to some of our weavers.

Enthusiasts over handcraft in other states have for some years been making collections of hand-woven coverlets. Our state has a few collectors whose collections show some notable examples of the weavers both of this state and others. Those who would undertake this branch of collecting should be reminded that even a fragment is desirable, since it shows pattern and dyes, and that both "single" and "double" coverlets should be included in the collection. A collection for a future state museum which would include an example of the work of each of our professional weavers as well as of coverlets woven at home would form an illuminating page of early Indiana history. Perhaps half the charm of coverlet study comes from the fact that in it one reads so much of the story of the Indiana pioneer.



















# LIFE IN OLD VINCENNES

*By*  
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## LIFE IN OLD VINCENNES

As A result of the brilliant campaign of George Rogers Clark and his little army of less than one hundred fifty men, the territory northwest of the Ohio River was given to the United States by the treaty of peace that ended the War of the Revolution. In this vast territory the only settlements at that time were a few trading posts scattered many miles apart, such as Detroit, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes.

Travelers who reached Vincennes in those days, coming by boat on the Wabash or struggling along the nearly impassable trail that led through dense forests from the Ohio falls, remarked on the beauty of its location. Volney, the French writer and explorer, described it as it appeared in 1796:

The eye is at first presented with an irregular savannah, eight miles in length by three in breadth, skirted by eternal forests, and sprinkled with a few trees, and abundance of umbelliferous plants, three or four feet high. Maize, tobacco, wheat, barley, squashes, and even cotton, grow in the fields around the village, which contains about fifty houses, whose cheerful white relieves the eye, after the tedious dusk and green of the woods.<sup>1</sup>

In the account of Thomas Hutchins, the geographer, who visited the place before the close of the Revolution, we find the following description of Post Vincennes:

It "consists of 60 settlers and their families. They raise Indian Corn,—Wheat; and Tobacco of an extraordinary good quality;—superior, it is said, to that produced in *Virginia*. They have a fine breed of horses (brought originally by the *Indians* from the *Spanish* settlements on the western side of the River *Mississippi*) and large stocks of Swine, and Black Cattle. The settlers deal with the natives for Furs and Deer skins, to the amount of about 5000 l. annually. Hemp of a good texture grows spontaneously in the low lands of the *Wabash*, as do Grapes in the greatest abundance, having a black, *thin* skin, and of which the inhabitants in

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<sup>1</sup>Volney, Constantin F., *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of North America* . . . , p. 332 (Philadelphia, 1804). Later writers mentioned the cultivation of cotton. See Thomas, David, *Travels Through the Western Country in the Summer of 1816* . . . , p. 150 (Auburn, N. Y., 1819), and Warden, D. B., *A Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States* . . . , Vol. II, p. 284 (Edinburgh, 1819). A cotton patch that once grew where Vincennes University now stands is described in Smith, Hubbard M., *Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes* . . . , p. 253 (Vincennes, October, 1902).

the Autumn, make a sufficient quantity (for their own consumption) of *well-tasted Red-Wine*. Hops large and good, are found in many places, and the lands are particularly adapted to the culture of Rice. All European fruits:—Apples, Peaches, Pears, Cherrys, Currants, Gooseberries, Melons, &c. thrive well.”<sup>2</sup>

Other travelers remarked on the abundance of nuts, such as black walnuts, hickory nuts, hazel nuts, chestnuts, and pecans, and spoke of the fine quality of such wild fruit as the persimmon and the pawpaw.<sup>3</sup>

Game was most abundant. Deer, elk, and bear among the larger animals, and game birds such as wild turkeys, prairie hens, quail, grouse, and ducks were plentiful. The rivers were filled with many kinds of fish. In the woods, among other birds, there were little green parrots or parroquets and flocks of wild pigeons, two forms of bird life that have since disappeared from this part of the country.

Most of the families were French or Creole, descendants of the original French soldiers and fur traders who had come from Louisiana and Quebec when the post was established sixty or seventy years before. They spoke but little English, and few of the new settlers who were coming from the eastern states could speak French. These newcomers generally referred to the older inhabitants as Canadians.<sup>4</sup>

There was a marked contrast between the modes of living of these two groups. The old French town was composed of families who were primarily trappers, hunters, and fur traders. They raised most of the produce they needed in the gardens that surrounded their homes. Their farming was done in the great common field, nearly five thousand acres of marvelously fertile land in the prairie below the town.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Hutchins, Thomas, *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, comprehending the Rivers Ohio, Kenhawa, Sioto, Cherokee, Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi, &c. . . .* pp. 28-29 (London, 1778).

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Thomas, *Travels Through the Western Country*, pp. 157ff., 207ff.

<sup>4</sup>Volney, *View of the Soil and Climate*, pp. 333-37.

<sup>5</sup>Brown, Samuel R., *The Western Gazetteer; or Emigrant's Directory. Containing a Geographical Description of the Western States and Territories . . .*, pp. 65-66 (Auburn, N. Y., 1817).

From this commons produce would be brought to the village in little two-wheeled carts, made entirely of wood, fastened together with rawhide, and drawn by their sturdy Indian ponies. These were the only wheeled vehicles in Indiana Territory. There were no wagon roads. Goods that came to the village over the trail from the Ohio were brought on pack horses, but most of their traffic with the outside world was by the river that had been for many years the principal line of inland transportation between Canada and Louisiana. Their stock of horses, swine, and cattle, mentioned by Hutchins in the account of his travels, was sadly depleted during the Revolution and the Indian wars that followed, but they still had enough for their simple needs.<sup>6</sup>

The people were hospitable and pleasure loving. The strains of the fiddle and the sound of dancing feet in the taverns livened many a winter evening, and with the coming of spring each year a number of the men would be off to visit their friends "in town." This meant a voyage of hundreds of miles down river to New Orleans, or an even longer trip, that involved paddling up stream to a portage to the Great Lakes and then on to Quebec.<sup>7</sup>

Their houses, usually one story in height, with a central hall running through from front to rear and a piazza that in many cases ran entirely around the building, were built of hewed logs. These were often placed upright and the spaces between were filled with a mortar made of clay and straw. The roofs were covered with thatch or hewed shingles. Some of these houses were given a coat of stucco, and most of them were whitewashed with a lime made by burning the mussel shells that were so abundant along the river. The gardens, fenced in with poles, contained many kinds of fruit and flowers, as well as herbs and vegetables. It is small wonder that Volney, emerg-

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<sup>6</sup>*History of Knox and Daviess Counties, Indiana . . .*, pp. 245, 246 (Goodspeed Publishing Co., Chicago, 1886); Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, pp. 38-39; Hutchins, *Topographical Description*, pp. 26-28; Ashe, Thomas, *Travels in America, performed in 1806. For the Purpose of exploring the Rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi . . .*, p. 249 (London, 1808); Volney, *View of the Soil and Climate*, p. 334.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 336-37.



ing from a march of three days through the woods, found the village a cheerful sight.<sup>8</sup>

In the town was the log church of St. Francis Xavier, the second structure of its name on that site, built under the leadership of the Catholic missionary, Father Pierre Gibault. In the belfrey hung the bell that had called together the inhabitants on that memorable occasion in 1778 when, inspired by Father Gibault, they renounced their allegiance to England and allied themselves with the American colonies. This liberty bell of the Old Northwest, which has been recast, hangs in the present cathedral.<sup>9</sup>

Near the church, on the bank of the river, was the deserted stockade, from which had flown within a quarter century the flags of France, of England, and of the United States, including the flag of red and green made by Madame Goderre of Vincennes for Captain Helm to replace the British colors, the first American flag to fly in the Northwest Territory.<sup>10</sup> Before the capture of the post by Clark, the British had added barracks for four companies, and two blockhouses of oak. And they had strengthened the stockade. But a few years later, Lieutenant Colonel Le Gras, the American commander, reported that he had sold the barracks, which the Americans, French, and Indians had reduced to ruins. The inclosure within the stockade was used afterwards for a jail and for a debtor's prison.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, pp. 65-66; Thomas, *Travels Through the Western Country*, pp. 143, 144-45, 191, 212; Greene, George E., *History of Old Vincennes and Knox County, Indiana*, Vol. I, p. 58 (Chicago, 1911); Dunn, Jacob P., *Indiana. A Redemption from Slavery*, pp. 105-7 (Boston and New York, 1900).

<sup>9</sup>Dunn, Jacob P., *Father Gibault, the Patriot Priest of the Northwest*, p. 12 (Springfield, 1905). See also Law, Judge John, *The Colonial History of Vincennes, under the French, British and American Governments* . . . , pp. 140ff. (Vincennes, 1858); Shea, John Gilmary, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll* . . . , pp. 127-28, 186-89 (New York, 1888).

<sup>10</sup>"Judge Charles B. Lasselle's Notes on Alice of Old Vincennes," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. IV, pp. 84-85. See also Shaw, Janet P. (ed.), "Account Book of Francis Bosseron" in *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 237, where the cost of the flag is itemized.

<sup>11</sup>Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton's report, in James, James Alton (ed.), *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781*, p. 183 (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. 8, Springfield, 1912); Le Gras to Clark, December 31, 1782, in James (ed.), *Clark Papers, 1781-1784*, p. 176 (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. 19, Springfield, 1926).

Leaders of the fur trade in the old French town were Colonel Francis Vigo, a Spanish soldier who had become a merchant known and respected from the lakes to the gulf; the Spaniard, Laurient Bazadon; and the French house of Lasselle on St. Jerome Street. The storehouses of Bazadon, built of hewed logs, two stories in height, were fitted with portholes for defense by musketry. In their cellars were stored stocks of merchandise, including bottles and casks of fine old wine and French brandy brought up the river from New Orleans. At these trading houses such standard articles as salt, blankets, whisky, iron kettles, hatchets, and knives were kept for barter with the Indians.<sup>12</sup>

There had been an Indian village at this site before the French post was established, and several hundred Indians were usually encamped in the neighborhood of the town. Some were members of nearby tribes; others had often traveled hundreds of miles to bring furs and pelts to the trading post. With these Indians the French associated on terms of perfect friendship and equality. Many a Frenchman had married an Indian wife, and the erect carriage, black hair, and high cheekbones of the Creoles showed their strain of Indian blood. John Law, the first historian of Vincennes, described these men as he had seen them in earlier days—with tall arrowy forms, mild, peaceful, always polite; their typical dress including a blanket capote, a blue kerchief round the head, and sandals for the feet.<sup>13</sup>

Very different from the easy-going French and Creoles were the new immigrants who came straggling in through Kentucky in ever-increasing numbers, many with land warrants for service in the War of the Revolution. Their chief ambition was to clear the land and establish farms. While the earlier families saw so much unused land and needed so little that their requirements were met by a common field, the newcomers were of the type that must acquire title to the land, clear it, fence it, and then acquire more.

During his first year a settler would build a temporary cabin,

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<sup>12</sup>*History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, pp. 240-42.

<sup>13</sup>Law, *Colonial History of Vincennes*, pp. 17-18.

to be succeeded as soon as possible by a more permanent structure. In the journal of Thaddeus Harris, giving an account of his travels in the western country in 1803, he describes a log cabin as being built of unhewed logs, usually without a window and with a hole in the roof for the escape of smoke. If the logs were hewed to a flat surface, and the roof made of split shingles; if there were a good fireplace and chimney, a puncheon floor, and glass windows, it was called a log house. At that time a glassworks had been opened at Pittsburgh to supply window glass, and some of it was brought down the Ohio and up the Wabash.<sup>14</sup> Later on, when sawmills were built and boards could be procured, these log houses were made with wooden ceilings and better floors than the split puncheons.

With their simple tools, such as ax, adz, drawknife, and auger, the self-reliant pioneers built furniture for their cabins and implements for their farms. Flax and hemp were to be had for weaving, and in addition to the homespun cloth, deerskin and buckskin were used for making clothing and moccasins. For those who could not afford to purchase supplies in the town, the abundant game, supplemented with wild fruits and berries, honey and maple sugar, furnished the principal source of food until a clearing was made and the first crop harvested. Then hominy became a staple article of food and corn meal was made by pounding the dried corn in a wooden mortar and sifting it through a sieve of deerskin in which tiny holes had been punched. And from this meal ashcakes or johnnycakes were baked at the fireplace.<sup>15</sup>

There had been a gristmill in the town for many years and in the new settlements other mills were built that were run by horse or water power. The mill became an important social center as groups of settlers who had come on horseback waited their turn for the grinding of their grain. A number of the newcomers built stillhouses, where whisky was made, and smokehouses for the curing of meat could be found on most

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<sup>14</sup>Harris, Thaddeus Mason, *The Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains*, pp. 15, 41 (Boston, 1805).

<sup>15</sup>*History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, pp. 88-89.

of the farms. In addition to a sawmill and gristmill, a cocoonery was established by a group of Shakers who had come to Busseron Township in 1805. It is said that they manufactured silk to some extent.<sup>16</sup>

Much has been written about the hardships of the pioneers, yet the early American settlers who came to this territory with its mild climate and fertile soil had many advantages. Those near Vincennes could trade at a settlement that had been established nearly three-quarters of a century, and most of those who came to any part of southern Indiana built their cabins within a short distance of a navigable stream. It was a land of opportunity, and within the first fifteen years of the approaching new century over sixty thousand people were to establish themselves in the territory. Their greatest hardship was the necessity of protecting themselves from the Indians, who bitterly resented this invasion of their land.<sup>17</sup>

The new settlers, bringing with them eastern habits and customs, felt a need for some definite form of government. Under the French régime at Vincennes, disputes had been settled in most cases by the priest or, if the fort had a garrison, by the officer in command. Later on, Virginia had attempted to set up some form of local government for the settlements in the country northwest of the Ohio that was described as the county of Illinois, and in 1790 Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the newly formed Northwest Territory, organized the vast county of Knox, larger than the present state of Indiana, and placed at its head, with the title of sheriff, John Small, a gunsmith of Vincennes.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 75 and 78-92 *passim*.

<sup>17</sup>The population of Indiana counties in 1815 is listed in Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, p. 51.

<sup>18</sup>For the law forming the county of Illinois, see Hening, William W. (ed.), *The Statutes at Large; being a collection of all the laws of Virginia* . . . , Vol. IX, pp. 552-53, and Vol. X, pp. 303-4. The formation of Knox County is reported in Sargent's journal of proceedings, quoted in Smith, William H. (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers* . . . , Vol. II, p. 166n. (Cincinnati, 1882). For mention of John Small, see Dunn, *Indiana*, pp. 274, 290; Esarey, Logan, *History of Indiana* . . . , Vol. I, p. 168, (Fort Wayne, 1924); *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, pp. 131, 136, 138, 170, 171, 242.

At perhaps the first election held in what is now Indiana, Small was elected representative from Knox County to an assembly that met at the little town of Cincinnati, and from this assembly came a territorial council of which Henry Vanderburgh, of Vincennes, was made president.<sup>19</sup> A few months later Congress created Indiana Territory, which included an area now forming the states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi.<sup>20</sup>

Vincennes was made the capital of this new territory, and a young native of Virginia, Captain William Henry Harrison, received the appointment as governor from President Adams, a few months before the end of his administration. Harrison had served as an officer in the warfare with the western Indians, had been secretary of the Northwest Territory, and at the time of his appointment was the delegate from that territory to Congress.<sup>21</sup>

When this news reached the town of Vincennes, which had then about seven hundred inhabitants, preparations were begun for receiving the new governor. What was known as the mansion of Colonel Vigo was being built, a large two-story frame house of the early American type, painted white, with green shutters, and surrounded by a verandah. The builder was given a premium of twenty guineas to hurry its completion, and when the governor arrived in January, 1801, the use of this handsome house was offered to him by Colonel Vigo. Harrison accepted the great parlor, a large room paved with alternate blocks of ash and walnut, and used it as a reception room until his own home was built.<sup>22</sup>

At once the town took on a new character. At first it had been a little French trading post. Then it became a center for

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<sup>19</sup>Dunn, *Indiana*, p. 274; Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. I, p. 168.

<sup>20</sup>"An Act to divide the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio, into two separate Governments," approved May 7, 1800, *Annals*, 6 Congress, 1 session, cols. 1498-1500.

<sup>21</sup>Goebel, Dorothy B., *William Henry Harrison* . . . , ch. II (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. 14, Indianapolis, 1926).

<sup>22</sup>*History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, p. 242.



American settlers moving westward from the seaboard. Now it was the seat of government for a vast inland territory. At the new capital courts were established; lawyers and other professional men, such as physicians and surveyors, moved to the town; a land office was opened, and with the coming of the seat of government came a number of able men who brought with them the manners and traditions of the old established aristocracy of the eastern states. The governor was soon surrounded by a group of personal and political friends whom he had appointed to office and their names appear again and again in accounts of public affairs.<sup>23</sup>

Harrison had come from a prominent family. His father was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and afterwards governor of Virginia. His wife was a daughter of Judge John Cleves Symmes, an influential citizen of Ohio. They had been married, after a romantic courtship and much against her father's wishes, a few years before coming to Vincennes.<sup>24</sup>

In a letter written the year of his arrival the governor said:

I have purchased a farm of about 300 acres joining the town which is all cleared. I am now engaged in fencing it and shall begin to build next spring if I can find the means. . . . I wish you to send me some whiskey as soon as possible . . . and send me also a couple of calf skins and a little soal leather.....

I wish you could muster resolution enough to take the woods and pay us a visit, I am sure you will be so much pleased with this place and the prospects that you would consent to move here. . . . We have here a Company of troops commanded by Honest F. Johnston of the 4th. We generally spend half the day together making war upon the partridges, grouse and fish—the latter we take in great numbers in a seine.<sup>25</sup>

His handsome home, with its group of outbuildings for servants, was soon under way. He arranged with Samuel Thompson to make the brick, paying for them with four hundred acres of land, valued at a thousand dollars. The interior wood-

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<sup>23</sup>Goebel, *William Henry Harrison*, pp. 59-60, 63-64, 67; *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, pp. 174ff.; Monks, Leander J., Esarey, Logan, and Shockley, Ernest V. (eds.), *Courts and Lawyers of Indiana*, Vol. I, ch. III (Indianapolis, 1916).

<sup>24</sup>Goebel, *William Henry Harrison*, pp. 11-12, 36-37.

<sup>25</sup>Harrison to James Findlay, October 5, 1801, printed in Esarey, Logan (ed.), *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison*, Vol. I, pp. 34-35 (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. 7, Indianapolis, 1922).

work was brought by boat from near Pittsburgh and much of the furniture came from eastern cabinetmakers. Gardens of fruit and flowers were planted and tended under the care of Mrs. Harrison. They named the place "Grouseland" and here they entertained many prominent people of the day. The governor's receptions in the west parlor, and the balls, when the house would be brilliantly lighted with hundreds of candles, were notable occasions. It was here that Aaron Burr visited Harrison, and on the lawn in front of the house were held many important conferences with Indian chieftains. The Treaty of Grouseland was made here, and here were held the meetings with the great Indian leader, Tecumseh.<sup>26</sup>

The great scope of Harrison's governmental rights and powers has been excellently summarized:

He was clothed with power more nearly imperial than any ever exercised by one man in the Republic. He was authorized to adopt and publish such laws, civil and criminal, as were best adapted to the condition of the Territory; he could arbitrarily create townships and counties, and appoint civil officers, and militia officers under the grade of general. Most extraordinary of all, however, to him belonged the confirmation of an important class of land grants. In this regard his authority was absolute. Other approval or countersign was not required. The application was to him originally; his signature was the perfect evidence of title.<sup>27</sup>

Harrison had been appointed by a president who was known as a Federalist. To secure his reappointment it was desirable for him to make a favorable impression on the new president, Thomas Jefferson. A considerable correspondence was carried on between them, Jefferson recommending to Harrison that in his appointments he reject dishonest men, those called federalists, and land jobbers. In 1802, the governor directed that the new town laid out as the seat of justice of Clark County be

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<sup>26</sup>Cauthorn, Henry S., *A History of the City of Vincennes . . .*, pp. 25-29 (Terre Haute, Ind., 1902); *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, p. 243; Goebel, *William Henry Harrison*, p. 72; Smith, Hubbard M., *Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes . . .*, pp. 258-63 (Vincennes, 1902); Greene, *History of Old Vincennes and Knox County*, pp. 285-87. See Drake, Benjamin, *Life of Tecumseh . . .*, p. 125 (Cincinnati, 1855).

<sup>27</sup>Wallace, Lew, *Life of Gen. Ben Harrison*, p. 27 (Hubbard Brothers, 1888).

named Jeffersonville, and wrote to the president advising him of the honor.<sup>28</sup>

One of the first duties of the governor and the capable secretary of the territory, John Gibson, was to determine the old land claims of the French settlers and the land grants to the militia. And to them fell the difficult work of handling Indian affairs. The policy of the government was conflicting. It recognized the title of the Indians to practically all of the land in the territory. Yet because of the land hunger of the immigrants who were coming in ever-increasing numbers it was thought to be necessary to secure more and more land for them. Treaty followed treaty, and the Indians became greatly dissatisfied as the boundary line was moved farther and farther to the north.<sup>29</sup>

It was the custom for the governor to exchange presents with the Indian leaders. The records of the general store of George Wallace Junior & Company show that they furnished for some of the chiefs castor hats, and superfine cloth of buff and blue to be made into suits by the local tailor. Other items included a tent, and oddly enough, two scalping knives. For this they received orders on the government.<sup>30</sup>

There were many stormy meetings with the Indians as Harrison carried out the policy of the government to acquire their lands, and he was accused by them a number of times with double dealing. Billy Patterson, spokesman for the Delawares, said in April, 1805:

You may judge how our chiefs felt when they returned home and found that the Governor had been shutting up their eyes and stopping their Ears with his good words and got them to sign a Deed for their lands without their knowledge.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Jefferson's letter of April 28, 1805 appears in Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 127. See also Harrison's letter of August 8, 1802, in *ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>29</sup>For a short discussion of these land claims, see Goebel, *William Henry Harrison*, pp. 66-68, 97-99. Harrison's activities as superintendent of Indian affairs are discussed in chapter IV.

<sup>30</sup>Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 176, 396.

<sup>31</sup>Quoted from a letter of Patterson to William Wells, April 5, 1805 in Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 122. See also the communication of the Delawares to Wells, March 30, 1805, in *ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

Tecumseh in his conference at Grouseland, after listening for awhile to the governor's statement that the government wished to deal justly with the Indians, finally grew indignant and very frankly told the governor that he lied. And although a more peaceful interview was held by them the next day the Indian chief departed with a strengthened conviction that his people were being treated with great injustice. "When you speak of annuities to me I look at the land and pity the women and children," he said.

When he was told that the final decision must be made by the president at Washington, he is said to have replied: "Well, as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to induce him to give up this land: it is true, he is so far off he will not be injured by the war; he may sit still in his town and drink his wine, whilst you and I will have to fight it out."<sup>32</sup>

The sequel of this conference was the Battle of Tippecanoe, where Harrison led an American force against the Indian confederacy while Tecumseh was absent in the South.

Among the important duties of the governor was the administration of the salt works at the Saline Springs southwest of Vincennes, where salt water was evaporated in kettles over great wood fires and the salt prepared for market. Salt was an essential commodity, and these springs were leased from Vincennes under the general direction of the government at Washington. The governor regarded the springs as "perhaps the very best in the whole extent of country from the Alleghany mountains to the Mississippi" and stated in a report that he hoped they might "give so large a supply of salt as very considerably to reduce the price of that indispensable article in all the settlements of the Ohio and the navigable branches of that river."<sup>33</sup>

The governor and the three territorial judges enacted such laws as they thought necessary until the territory advanced to the second grade of government in 1805. Then a legislature was convened, consisting of seven elected representatives from

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<sup>32</sup>Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 467-69; Drake, *Life of Tecumseh*, pp. 125-30.

<sup>33</sup>Esarey (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 47.

the different counties of the territory and a council of five appointed members. This was so small a group that it was not necessary to erect a special legislative hall. During the years that Vincennes was the capital they met for a time in the little two-story frame building that is still preserved as the first capitol building, and one session at least was held in the seminary.<sup>34</sup>

With the meeting of the legislature the desire to bring slaves into the territory became a paramount issue. The French inhabitants at Vincennes and the settlements along the Mississippi had owned slaves ever since the settlement was first established in what was then the province of Louisiana. Their right to continue to hold them was recognized, and it was argued that some way should be found to legalize the bringing of additional slaves from south of the Ohio in order to clear and develop the territory.

With this opinion, which undoubtedly was held at that time by a majority of the people of the territory, Harrison was in sympathy. He had presided over the convention held at Vincennes that asked Congress to suspend the article in the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery in the territory, and when the legislature passed an act providing for bringing slaves into the territory by means of a contract of indenture he gave it his approval. Among the proslavery group at Vincennes were Francis Vigo, William Prince, Luke Decker, John Johnson, Benjamin Parke, Waller Taylor, Thomas Randolph, and other leaders of the community. There was a strong antislavery party in the eastern part of the territory that was bitter in its opposition.<sup>35</sup>

Another act of the territorial legislature was to revise and reënact the militia law of the Northwest Territory, for it was necessary to be prepared for the ever-increasing danger of warfare with both Indians and the British. Every able-bodied

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<sup>34</sup>Greene, *History of Old Vincennes and Knox County*, pp. 281-82.

<sup>35</sup>Harrison's attitude toward slavery is discussed in Goebel, *William Henry Harrison*, pp. 74ff.; Dunn, *Indiana*, pp. 302ff.; Dillon, *History of Indiana*, pp. 409ff.; Esarey, *History of Indiana*, Vol. I, pp. 197ff.



citizen was required to be enrolled and to furnish his uniform, musket and ammunition, and muster days, when the troops were called out for inspection, were important occasions.<sup>36</sup>

Among other acts of this early legislature was one for the relief of persons imprisoned for debt, but at the same session a law was passed fixing the penalty of death for second offense in such crimes as horse stealing. A horse was an essential possession to a pioneer who was starting to establish himself and his family in this new country, and a horse thief was recognized as a most dangerous enemy to society.<sup>37</sup> For many minor offenses the punishment provided was a specified number of lashes on the bare back.

The borough of Vincennes was created, to be bounded by the church lands, the river, the plantation of the governor, and the line of the commons that had been created by an act of Congress: and an elaborate system was established for building and maintaining a fence around the common field in the lower prairie. The proprietors of the various holdings were required to meet at the house of Madame Page in Vincennes and elect an officer to be known as syndic of the field and also a supervisor of the dykes. The separate holdings were not fenced, but around the whole field a worm fence was built and each owner was required to erect and maintain the part that bordered on his land in order that the fields might be protected from stock that pastured on the village commons. This was a continuance of the system established by the French at Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and other western settlements.<sup>38</sup>

As the town became more prosperous, other substantial brick houses besides the home of the governor were soon under way, and carpenters and joiners came from the East and took on apprentices to learn the trade. David Thomas, who visited the town some years later, reported a number of brick houses and

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<sup>36</sup>*Laws of Indiana Territory*, 1806, pp. 61-63.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 1805, pp. 15-19, 41-42.

<sup>38</sup>For the law for incorporating the borough of Vincennes, see *ibid.*, pp. 33-36; a supplementary law was passed at the next session. See *ibid.*, 1806, pp. 39-42. For a description of the holdings and fencing, see Dunn, *Indiana*, pp. 94-97.

nearly one hundred frame houses in addition to the original French houses.<sup>39</sup>

Other church organizations soon became interested in this western capital where the Catholics had been so long established. The Methodists sent the Reverend William Winans, who arrived in 1809 and held his first service in a small room of a private house. The meeting was at night, and the governor held a candle while the minister read his text. The Reverend Samuel T. Scott was the first Presbyterian to settle as a pastor within this territory.<sup>40</sup>

In the spring of 1804, Elihu Stout bought a small printing press in Frankfort, Kentucky and sent it by river to Vincennes where it arrived three months later, having been transported all the way on boats propelled by hand. On the Fourth of July, there was issued from his little office on East St. Louis Street the first copy of the *Indiana Gazette*. In this issue the editor pledged that the columns should "never be tarnished with matter that can offend the eye of decency, or raise a blush upon the cheek of modesty and virtue."<sup>41</sup> It was announced that the subscription price of \$2.50 might be paid with "Beef, Pork, Bacon, Corn, Cotton, Whiskey, Wheat, Sugar, Potatoes, Butter, Eggs, Tobacco, Salt, Tallow, Flour or Oats," if delivered at the office.<sup>42</sup> All of those were standard articles of barter, for there was but little money in circulation. For many years Mr. Stout brought all of his printing materials overland from Georgetown, Kentucky, taking with him three horses, one for riding and two for carrying paper and other supplies.

In each number of the *Gazette* was a department of verse called, with some justice, the Poetical Asylum. An early issue

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<sup>39</sup>Thomas, *Travels Through the Western Country*, p. 191.

<sup>40</sup>Holliday, Rev. F. C., *Indiana Methodism . . .*, p. 28 (Cincinnati, 1873); *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, pp. 292-93; Greene, *History of Old Vincennes and Knox County*, pp. 423-24; Edson, Hanford A., *Contributions to the Early History of the Presbyterian Church in Indiana*, pp. 40-44.

<sup>41</sup>A sketch of Elihu Stout, by Henry S. Cauthorn, appears in *The Indianian*, Vol. V, pp. 351-55. See also an account of Stout and his newspaper in Law, *Colonial History of Vincennes*, pp. 137-40.

<sup>42</sup>*Indiana Gazette*, October 23, 1804.

contained an open letter signed, "A Freeholder of Knox County," that charged the governor with a despotic use of his power of appointment. It was generally known that the writer of this letter was William McIntosh, a well-to-do Scotchman living at Vincennes who was a persistent critic of the governor. Vigorous replies appeared in the next issue, including one from Benjamin Parke who had just received from the governor his appointment as attorney-general for the territory. And a few weeks later the *Gazette* published a series of open letters from Parke to McIntosh challenging him to a duel. That there might be no misunderstanding of his feeling in this matter he said, "Sunk and degraded as he is, I will now sink him deeper; he shall lick up the dregs of infamy itself. I pronounce and publish William M'Intosh a filcher, pilferer, a thief."

In the next issue of the *Gazette* Mr. McIntosh published an address to the public in which he set at defiance the power of "the *unprincipled slanderer Parke*."<sup>43</sup> However, despite this preliminary thundering the duel did not take place.

Publishing of such correspondence in regard to duelling was not unusual, caused on most occasions by political differences. A challenge from Thomas Randolph to Dr. McNamee was published with the correspondence in full, and the paper recorded a number of other duels, some of which had fatal results.<sup>44</sup>

In 1804, Congress provided that the northern part of the newly acquired territory of Louisiana should be governed from Vincennes. The *Gazette* published a proclamation by "Wm. Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, and of the District of Louisiana" that provided for the division of Louisiana into the districts of St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid, designating a seat of justice for each. The governor visited St. Louis in his official capacity, and was escorted into

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<sup>43</sup>See the issues of the *Indiana Gazette*, August 7 to September 18, 1804, for this correspondence.

<sup>44</sup>See the Vincennes *Western Sun*, June 10 and 24, and July 1, 1809, for the Randolph-McNamee correspondence. See also the issue for December 17, 1808.

town by a cavalcade of leading citizens with considerable ceremony.<sup>45</sup>

In the *Western Sun* was published an account of the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1807, with an elegant dinner prepared at the inn of the territorial auditor, Peter Jones. The dinner was presided over by Governor Harrison as president and Captain William Prince, of the Vincennes Volunteer Light Infantry, as vice president. It was said that "no oration (as is often used, and indeed sometimes necessary) was required to animate the spirits of the company." Instead, no less than seventeen set toasts, and several more that were volunteered, "were drank with much and merited eclat." These were proposed not only to such subjects as the president, the army and navy, and the ladies, but, as showing topics uppermost in the public mind, it is interesting to know that one was to "The union of Eastern & Western America—may it be perpetual" and another to "The rising University of Vincennes."<sup>46</sup>

On the same day another dinner to commemorate the occasion, attended, as the *Sun* reported, by "a very respectable number of gentlemen & ladies," was given under a bower near the spring of Francis Vigo. General John Gibson, secretary of the territory, presided: Colonel Vigo acted as vice president and seventeen formal toasts were drunk. The reporter observed that "The day was concluded as it began, in harmony, friendship and festivity. No other impressions were felt than those arising from the events, to which the day gave birth." The standard number of formal toasts on Independence Day at that time seems to have been seventeen—one, no doubt, for each state in the Union.<sup>47</sup>

There was much controversy over the manner of conducting the sales of public land and charges were made that those who superintended the sales were associated with companies formed for the purpose of speculation. In an open letter, published in the *Western Sun*, Governor Harrison, who had acted

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<sup>45</sup>*Indiana Gazette*, October 2, 1804.

<sup>46</sup>*Western Sun*, July 11, 1807.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, July 18, 1807.

as one of the superintendents, said that he had purchased land to the extent of his limited means and perhaps in partnership with men of fortune and influence. But he asserted that he had a perfect right to do so and denied that "the poor actual settlers" were in any manner injured or oppressed by him or his associates.<sup>48</sup>

The tavern of Peter Jones, marked by a sign bearing a portrait of Thomas Jefferson, was regarded as a gathering place for the more aristocratic element. Permanes Beckes became the landlord of this popular tavern in 1807. Other taverns were those of John D. Hay, John McCandless, and Hyacinthe Lasselle. The Lasselle tavern, a large two-story structure, was famous for its hospitality. Many banquets were given in its dining hall, including one to celebrate the completion of the first courthouse, and it was here that Governor Posey lived during the few months of his administration before the removal of the government to Corydon.<sup>49</sup>

Frederick and Christian Graeter, fur traders who had come to Vincennes from Alsace-Lorraine before the year 1800, announced in 1808 that they had opened a house of entertainment at the well-known stand "the sign of the Ferry Boat." Some of the early daybooks of this tavern are still preserved and their entries throw interesting side lights on the life of that time. The price of a meal was 25 cents, and lodging for the night was 12 1/2 cents. Whiskey was sold for 25 cents a pint, while punch and brandy toddy were \$1 a glass or \$1.50 for a bowl. A spiced and sugared drink known as Sangaree was a specialty of the tavern.

During the winter months hardly a day passed but a game or "club" at cards was organized, and now and then when a player would be forced to borrow from his host, the amount was duly entered on the daybook. One winter a subscription

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<sup>48</sup>*Western Sun*, September 19, 1807.

<sup>49</sup>Cauthorn, *History of the City of Vincennes*, p. 181; *Western Sun*, December 2, 1807; *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, pp. 150, 177; Greene, *History of Old Vincennes and Knox County*, p. 133. Prior to the building of the courthouse, court was held at the house of Laurient Bazadon and Antoine Maréchal.



ball was given. Among the subscribers on this occasion were General Washington Johnston, George Ewing, Pierre La Plante, Elihu Stout, Captain Hawkins, Captain Robert Ellison, a "gentleman from Philadelphia," and Toussaint Dubois, who not only paid his own subscription but is charged with "assumption" for two guests.

In the Graeter tavern was a billiard table. The charge was 8 1/3 cents a game and the table was in almost constant use. In the spring of 1809 Governor Harrison was charged for twenty-five games and young Jonathan Jennings, who was Harrison's bitter political enemy, was charged for sixty games. The editor, Elihu Stout, must have found time heavy on his hands that season, for nearly three hundred games and many half games were marked to his account. In December of that year, there were eighty-six active accounts on the billiard record, representing a good part of the male population of the town.

Little notations on the flyleaves of the tavern daybook show addresses of trappers and others. At one place it says, "Demaree lives over the river and is going to buy skins for us." Another entry records that "Ganthey who lives over the river from Owl Prairie has coon skins" and "Vernon who lives four miles in Illinois has eleven skins."<sup>50</sup>

It was a great occasion when, with the coming of spring, the flatboats and barges laden with furs and produce were able to start down the river for New Orleans, where their cargoes were sold, or traded for other merchandise. Among the articles sent down the river were salt pork, corn, venison hams, and brandies made from corn and peaches. In March, 1814, G. W. Johnston and Adam McCulloch were charged at the tavern for whiskey and supplies for their boatmen. Thirty years later an entry shows that the boats left on Wednesday the third of April, 1844. No doubt a large part of the population was out each year to see them start on the long river voyage.

In July, 1806, a number of citizens met at the tavern of John D. Hay to promote the formation of a circulating library. The original minutes of the organization show that Governor

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<sup>50</sup>These notations were made from the original daybook of the tavern.

Harrison was called to the chair and Benjamin Parke appointed secretary. Rules and regulations were adopted that provided for shares at five dollars each, payable in specie, or in such books as might be judged proper for admission, and dues of two dollars a year. The library started with about thirty subscribers. In addition to the officers there were Dr. Samuel McKee, Dr. Charles Smith, Dr. Elias McNamee, Colonel Francis Vigo, Elihu Stout, John Rice Jones, Henry Vander Burgh, and most of the other leaders of the community.<sup>51</sup>

A report made in March, 1809 showed that the library contained 248 volumes. The committee expressed its opinion that two books of fiction were by their immoral tendency unfit to be found in the possession of an institution whose object was to diffuse useful knowledge and correct moral principles. It was suggested that the books be destroyed. This high moral tone was maintained through the years. A quarter of a century later, the librarian was ordered to dispose of all duplicate copies, and also the edition of Byron's *Works*. In 1813 a catalogue was prepared showing over four hundred volumes that had cost nearly nine hundred dollars, and ten years later, when Isaac Blackford was president and John C. S. Harrison librarian, the books were valued at over two thousand dollars.

The library was then in the Harrison house. Books were usually ordered from Baltimore or Philadelphia and to the bill there would be added the cost of a trunk in which they were shipped. The records show that they paid \$25 for Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, when it was published. The librarian was at one time allowed \$1.37 1/2 for the purchase of deerskin and some glue to be used for repairing damaged bindings.

Mail was brought from the east by post riders. The schedule called for a weekly mail but in bad weather there were many delays. In January, 1809 the *Western Sun* said: "There having

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<sup>51</sup>The Indiana State Library has a photostatic copy of the original minutes of the organization. A report on the organization and progress of the library appears in the *Western Sun*, March 23, 1808, and an advertisement for a library lottery was published in the issue of January 5, 1811.

been no mail for near 4 weeks from Louisville, & none from beyond there for five, must account for, and be an excuse for the barrenness of this days Sun." The next issue reported "another week, and no mail."<sup>52</sup> As postage was not prepaid, the postmaster had trouble in delivering some of the letters. In early advertisements are lists of letters not taken out that were addressed to many of the best-known citizens.

Congress had set apart a township of land in each of the districts of Detroit, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes for the use of a seminary of learning, and the legislature of the territory provided in 1806 for the incorporation of Vincennes University. The trustees arranged to sell some of the land and also to establish a lottery to provide funds for the erection of a school building. This structure, known as the seminary, was begun the following year. David Thomas, in his account of his travels, speaks of the brick building, sixty-five feet in length, which although unfinished, made a very handsome appearance.<sup>53</sup>

The board of trustees included such men as Waller Taylor, chancellor of the territory, Benjamin Parke, territorial judge, John Badollet, the registrar of the land office and close friend of Albert Gallatin, and Nathaniel Ewing, who became afterwards the first president of the Bank of Indiana. The school was opened for instruction in 1811 by the Reverend Samuel T. Scott. The *Western Sun* spoke of him as master of the grammar and English school, with high praise for his ability.<sup>54</sup>

In his history of the University, Curtis Shake draws attention to a significant sequence of events mentioned in the records of the trustees. In 1807 a motion was adopted to inquire into the conduct of Jonathan Jennings, who was clerk of the board. Soon afterwards Governor Harrison offered his resignation as trustee. After a new clerk had been elected, Harrison again became a member of the board. This is perhaps the

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<sup>52</sup>Issues of January 21 and 28, 1809.

<sup>53</sup>*Laws of Indiana Territory*, 1806, ch. v; Thomas, *Travels Through the Western Country*, p. 191. See also Shake, Curtis G., *A History of Vincennes University* (Published by the University, 1928), for a general account of the school.

<sup>54</sup>Issue of July 27, 1811.

earliest indication of the differences between Harrison and Jennings. They had far-reaching consequences.

When Jennings was elected the territorial delegate to Congress, he began a campaign to have the capital removed from Vincennes, where Harrison was a large landowner and was surrounded by a group whom he had made powerful by his political appointments. In this campaign, which was finally successful, Jennings and his supporters charged Harrison with being a Virginia aristocrat who favored the introduction of slavery into the territory, and with favoritism in the distribution of territorial offices. When, a few years later, Jennings himself became governor of Indiana, he approved a measure directing that the revenue from the lands of the Vincennes University be turned into the state treasury, and the lands were finally sold by the state, leaving the school in great financial distress.<sup>55</sup>

After the establishment of the seat of government at Vincennes, the business life became more diversified. At first the only merchants were the proprietors of the trading houses. Within a few years the town acquired a number of general stores, and shops of various craftsmen, such as cabinetmakers who built some excellent furniture from the native wild cherry and black walnut. Several smiths made such articles as andirons, pothooks, spits, tongs, and footscrapers for the households of the community, and all of the many forms of iron required on the farms, including nails that were at first so scarce and so necessary. And there were saddlers, gunsmiths, shoemakers, hatmakers, a wheelwright, an apothecary, a tanner, a silversmith, and a limner who was, let us suppose, the first portrait painter in Indiana.<sup>56</sup>

The hatters in their announcements offered to exchange hats for good coon, fox, or muskrat skins. John Bruner announced that he was in the blue-dyeing business, and would dye goods of wool or cotton either deep or light blue, thereby entering

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<sup>55</sup>Shake, *History of Vincennes University*, pp. 12-14.

<sup>56</sup>Thomas, *Travels Through the Western Country*, p. 191.

into competition with the housewife in whose dye pots many fast and lovely colors had been made.<sup>57</sup>

A dancing school was opened by Charles Gudran "to enable Ladies and Gentlemen to conduct with ease and grace in company." As early as 1807 a theatrical exhibition was given in the town, and some years later a circus troupe that seems to have consisted of five men and several horses gave a performance that opened, so the handbills announced, with four Turks fighting with broadswords and lances, and closed with a display of fireworks. There being no adequate system of artificial lighting, the exhibition was given in the afternoon.<sup>58</sup>

Despite these social diversions industry was not forgotten. A meeting was called to encourage the growing of hemp and establishment of a rope walk, and the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and the Useful Arts offered prizes for the best pieces of homespun cloth of cotton, woolen, and linen.<sup>59</sup>

In earlier days the men of the community had worn the coon-skin caps and suits of buckskin of the hunters, or the homespun of the settlers. But with the coming of the capital there were occasions when the prominent citizens dressed in a more elegant manner. Ruffles of lace, coats of fine cloth, knee breeches and buckles of silver were to be seen at important receptions. In his stand in the red house, opposite Graeter's tavern, Owen Reilly offered for sale a handsome assortment of goods from Philadelphia, including president cord, constitution cord, twilled coating, and moleskin, and the town soon supported four tailors' shops. While for the ladies of the community English muslins, taffeta silk from France, and Irish linens were noted among the articles of import.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>See, for example, a hatter's advertisement in the *Vincennes Western Sun*, February 1, 1812, and one of Bruner's notices in the issue of December 9, 1812.

<sup>58</sup>Gudran announced the opening of his dancing school in the *Sun* of February 15, 1812; for a mention of the first theatrical performance in the town, see the *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, p. 244; the Indiana State Library has one of the handbills advertising the circus described.

<sup>59</sup>For a short account of the agricultural society, see *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, pp. 153-55.

<sup>60</sup>*Western Sun*, January 15, 1814.



When the separation of Illinois in 1809 reduced the size of Indiana Territory to about that of the present state, a movement was at once begun in the eastern counties to move the capital to a new location. It was argued that Vincennes, at the western edge of the territory, was difficult of access and to this was added the desire of the opponents of the governor to weaken his influence. In 1813 the capital was moved to Corydon and in 1825 to Indianapolis.

However, Vincennes continued to be an important town in the rapidly developing country. Timothy Flint in his *Condensed Geography and History of the Western States*, published in 1828, said that it still had more trade than any other place in the state.<sup>61</sup> During the steamboat days it was the most important port on the Wabash and with the advent of the railroads it has become a prosperous manufacturing center.

When, two centuries ago, the Jesuit fathers planted fruits and melons brought from France, they established what is now an important factor in the commerce of the community. The soil and climate are well suited to the culture of fruit, and from the orchards that surround the town in every direction, daily shipments are now made during the season to markets hundreds of miles away.

The town retains something of the atmosphere of the olden days, and the Harrison house which is still standing, seemingly as substantial as when it was built over a century ago, is an ever-present reminder of the time when the little community was the seat of an administration whose jurisdiction extended for a time from the Ohio line westward to the Rocky Mountains. With its history is bound inseparably the history of the Middle West, of its conquest, of the beginnings of its government, of its earliest conflicts over slavery, of its development of democracy. It would hardly be possible to tell the story of any part of this inland country without referring to the influence on its history of men and measures of the early days in old Vincennes.

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<sup>61</sup> Flint, Timothy, *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States* . . . , Vol. II, pp. 153-54 (Cincinnati, 1828).





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